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VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, October 1984

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11 December 1984

SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, October 1984

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TRANSFORMING AND MANAGING THE MARKET

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee "On the Pressing Tasks Faced in Improving the Management of the Economy" stated: "In the immediate future, we must bring about a strong change in economic management, with efforts focused on resolving the following two types of problems:

--First, we must strongly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, tap the initiative, creativity and every capability of installations, reorganize production, gradually establish the new management system and establish a correct division of management responsibilities and levels.

--Secondly, we must resolve a number of pressing problems that exist in distribution and circulation, especially in the fields of the market, prices, wages and money, with a view toward supporting installations well while establishing correct distribution relations within the national economy."

The two areas described above constitute an entity, a dialectical relationship and create the conditions and prerequisites for each other. Distribution and circulation must be viewed against the background of the national economy as a whole, must be viewed first against the background of social production.

Production determines distribution, but distribution has a relative independence of its own and exerts a reciprocal impact upon production. This impact is positive or negative depending upon whether distribution is carried out correctly or incorrectly. We should not think that disorder within distribution and circulation is unavoidable as long as our production remains at a low level of development and the economy is still imbalanced. The fact that the disorder and inequities of the past several years have been allowed to occur must, above everything else, be considered a subjective shortcoming on our part in distribution and circulation. For quite some time, we have been lax in our management and transformation of the market, have relaxed our efforts in the struggle between socialism and capitalism and the struggle

between ourselves and the enemy, thereby allowing a number of former bourgeoisie to re-establish themselves, even some new bourgeois elements to emerge, and allowing the "free" and "black" markets to encroach upon the socialist market, smuggled imports to inundate the domestic market and many negative factors (embezzlement, collusion, unbridled liberalism...) to develop in society and within the state apparatus. Taking advantage of these opportunities, the enemy has snuck their way into these activities in order to sabotage us. The price adjustments put into effect in 1981 were not sufficiently large and were, in addition, made in isolation, that is, were not combined with measures involving wages, finances, market management, etc. As a result, prices are not in line with value and change in a spontaneous fashion, the wage system is clearly irrational in many respects, the value of our currency has declined and the living conditions of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces are very difficult.

Our distribution-circulation policy must be designed to stimulate the development of production; stabilize and gradually improve the living conditions of the people, beginning with manual workers, cadres and the armed forces; regulate the income of the various strata of the population in a rational manner; strengthen the national financial system, provide reserves for the state and gradually accumulate capital for socialist industrialization; and restore socialist order in the field of distribution and circulation.

To meet these objectives, it is necessary to resolve the problems posed by the market, prices, wages, the financial system and monetary activities simultaneously. Socialist commerce must raise itself to the position of absolute dominance in the market. We must manage and transform the "free" market in order to virtually eliminate speculation and black marketing. At the same time, we must promptly adjust the price policy so that price stability is achieved and the major relationships within the national economy are satisfactorily established; adjust wages so that they insure that the energies expended on the job are replenished, insure compliance with the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, and insure that the state budget and the purchasing power of our currency are stable.

The strong impact that the market has upon prices, wages and money must be clearly recognized. When the state adopts correct price, wage and monetary policies but does not control or manage the market and allows a chaotic market to develop, the impact of these policies is very greatly limited, even nullified sometimes. The economic situation of the past several years, years during which we have made adjustments to our price, wage and monetary policies but have not controlled and managed the market, prove this point quite clearly. General Secretary Le Duan has said: "Every hour of every day, the market is the scene of a sharp struggle between socialism and capitalism, a sharp struggle between ourselves and the enemy. We cannot control production, distribution or circulation, cannot stabilize our currency, prices or the living conditions of the working people if we do not control the market."(1)

In the present situation, the problem of managing the market and developing socialist commerce has become an extremely important issue in distribution and circulation because it is only by transforming and managing the market well

while strongly developing socialist commerce that we can lay the groundwork for good price, wage, financial and other leverage policies. At the same time, this is a burning economic issue, a leading element in the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" on the economic front today.

Transforming and management the market, restoring socialist order to distribution and circulation are the pressing task of our state at this time, are the basic prerequisites to the adoption of good price, wage, financial and monetary policies designed to create the conditions for the various sectors, levels and localities, especially production and business installations, to display the full measure of their initiative and creativity in order to strongly develop their production in the direction set by the state plan.

Transforming and managing the market under conditions in which the economy still consists of many different segments and many different segments of commerce are still participating in the market basically involve building a solid and strong socialist market to lead and manage the other economic segments within commerce so that all trade on the market is carried out within the scope of the law and we eventually establish a unified socialist market with an integrated system of price, wage and monetary policies designed to resolve the problems of production, reorganize production and establish balance between production and consumption on a society-wide scale.

Of primary importance in managing the market well is for socialist commerce to bring itself to the point where it controls goods and controls the market, for socialist commerce to improve its business management, reorganize its business network, control the vast majority of wholesale sales, control the majority of retail sales, intensify the socialist transformation of private commerce, reorganize the various product sectors, coordinate business with providing support and combat the thinking of taking a purely commercial approach to business. Socialist commerce must exist wherever there is goods, wherever there is consumer demand. As regards the matter of controlling goods, the state must establish itself as the only sector that manages and does business in grain and strategic materials, in the essential industrial goods produced by state-operated or contract installations and in imports so that all products and goods produced within the state-operated economy as well as the collective economy are concentrated in the hands of the state. The majority of the goods produced within the other segments of the economy must also be mobilized for the state. The problem of goods produced by state-operated enterprises or produced under contracts with the state slipping onto the "free" market and the "black market" must quickly be corrected.

In order to control the vast majority of products and goods, it is necessary to intensify the mobilization of grain and other agricultural products. In addition to collecting the full agricultural tax due in product form and collecting debts that are due, the state must expand the use of two-way contracts in procurements. This is the mode of procurement that best satisfies the interests of the state and farmers, is the mode of production and circulation planning that is best suited in the present situation to the collective and private segments of the economy. It is necessary to incorporate within two-way contracts means of production and, where there is a need for them among producers, additional essential goods, including grain.

Industrial goods should not be used to directly trade for agricultural, forest or marine products or to compensate for the procurement prices of these products. Of key importance in insuring the proper implementation of the policy on procurements under two-way contracts is the need for the state to provide to farmers all the materials and goods to which the state commits itself in two-way contracts.

Producers have the right to control that portion of the product that remains once they have paid their taxes and sold products and goods under two-way contracts. The state must encourage them to sell their surplus agricultural products to the state at negotiated prices. These prices take the factor of supply and demand on the local market into consideration but differ from market prices in that these are prices that are established through negotiation between the state and the producers under conditions in which the state has removed the factors of competition and speculation and private merchants do not have the right to compete with the state in the procurement of products. These trade relations also encompass a sense of patriotism on the part of the farmer. With supply and demand imbalanced as they are now, the correct application by the state of the policy on negotiated procurement prices, which is a policy that conforms with both reason and sentiment, will be readily accepted by farmers.

When the state procures prices at two prices, it must also sell products at two prices. Goods must be clearly apportioned to one of the four different lines of supply: the supply of goods for manual workers, cadres and the armed forces; the supply of goods to be used in trade under two-way contracts; the supply of export goods; and the supply of goods sold at retail prices to meet the needs of society. The supply of materials and goods allocated for use in procurements must be apportioned on the basis of the plan by product to be procured, by sector and by locality in quantities that correspond to the quantities of agricultural, forest and marine products that must be procured.

On the basis of controlling goods and putting additional goods into the hands of the state, every effort must be made to strengthen and develop the state-operated commerce and marketing cooperative network all the way down to the basic level. We must develop socialist commerce, especially state-operated commerce, and strengthen its material-technical bases and reorganize its management in supply operations as well as in the distribution and circulation of consumer goods, in wholesale as well as retail sales and in long distance business transactions as well as in distribution within one's area of responsibility.

Socialist commerce must make extensive efforts to improve its management; correctly implement the socialist mode of business; make supporting production and the living conditions of the people its objective; and build a corps of cadres and personnel who possess good personal qualities and professional skills. With regard to improving the management of the commerce business, the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee states: "It is necessary to reorganize the system of supply, transportation and commerce organizations; concentrate the task of supplying the various types of commonly used materials within the Ministry of Supply; and insure that materials and goods are circulated efficiently and take the most direct route possible from

where they are produced to where they are marketed. We must also make broader use of 'agents' and the other transitional forms of organization within commerce, supply operations and transportation and tightly control their activities.

The effort to build and strengthen the various business corporations of the district that are managed by the district level must be intensified. The functions of the district supply corporation are to supply agricultural materials and act as an agent in the supplying of other commonly used materials within the district. The functions of the district commerce corporation are to make procurements and sell goods at retail prices within the district; at the same time, it serves as the procurement and retailing agent for a number of goods that lie within the scope of the business of the other sectors. In areas in which the production of export goods is centralized, it is the task of the district foreign trade corporation to directly procure agricultural products for exportation. The functions of the district grain corporation are to mobilize grain and sell grain on a commercial basis."

It is only by controlling the sources of goods and improving its business operations that socialist commerce can strongly develop its forces, that socialist commerce can become strong enough to transform and manage the market. At present, in view of the fact that the "black market" is continuing to develop, thereby causing much harm to the economy and our standard of living and corrupting a considerable portion of our youths and teenagers, even some of our cadres, the state must attach foremost importance to administrative measures and use its power to abolish this illegal market. All the most drastic and radical of measures, special measures, must be taken so that we can, within a specific amount of time, reduce and eliminate the theft of materials and goods from the state and corruption with a view toward abolishing the "black market." This is the fervent aspiration of the people. Here, the state must be determined to fulfill its function as a dictatorship. V.I. Lenin said: "Anyone who thinks that the step from capitalism to socialism can be accomplished without the need for coercion and dictatorship is guilty of gross ignorance and the most absurd utopianism."(2)

To abolish this illegal market, the state must take the following measures in a well coordinated and thorough manner: apprehending and severely punishing speculators, persons engage in black marketing and persons who steal property from the state in order to put it on the market; prohibit the sale of products that are produced, imported and distributed exclusively by the state; preventing the smuggling of goods, gold and foreign currency across the border; removing the bourgeoisie from commerce and thwarting the schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy; establishing accounting and control over every business activity in the market; taxing industry and commerce and carrying out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and private agriculture.

All economic ties that the bourgeoisie and wealthy merchants have with the rural market, with small industry and the handicraft trades must be severed. The state must take effective measures to combat the collusion between dishonest merchants and undesirable elements and degenerate, deviant elements

within state economic installations. Only by taking these steps can we cut the illegal market off from its sources of goods, remove the bourgeoisie from commerce, eliminate the activities of private merchants who engage in trade over long distances and establish the conditions needed to organize and transform small merchants. In addition, organizations and individuals that do not have a commercial function must also remove themselves from trade on the market. As regards disabled veterans, troops, manual workers, civil servants and retired cadres who are forced to engage in trade in order to earn additional income for their families, the state must provide them with jobs in the services, production jobs, jobs as retail agents for the state... We must quickly reorganize the market, transform and reorganize the commerce activities of small merchants, be determined not to issue business licenses for products that are managed by the state, establish tight controls and impose very heavy fines upon persons who refuse to register their prices and sell their goods at posted prices.

In order to do a good job of transforming and managing the market, it is necessary to strengthen the leadership provided by the party, improve the management provided by the state and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, with efforts focused on performing this work well in the major cities, such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Haiphong, Da Nang and Can Tho.

At a time when the economy is imbalanced and production is declining, when the relationships between supply and demand, between money and goods, between exports and imports, between revenues and expenditures are becoming increasingly strained, when prices are soaring and the working people are encountering difficulties in their daily lives, when the real income of wage earners is declining and there are many negative phenomena in the market, the task that confronts the various leadership levels of the party is to perform very good ideological work.

Now, more than ever before, the various party committee echelons must attach importance to teaching ideology to cadres, party members and the people in order to give them a clear understanding of our difficulties and advantages, strengthen their working class stand, cultivate the viewpoint concerning the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between ourselves and the enemy on the distribution-circulation front and achieve both a thorough understanding of and strict compliance with the policies of the party and state concerning the transformation and management of the market. We must consolidate the organizations of the party and forge better cadres and party members through the work involved in the transformation and management of the market.

The various levels of government must provide good management. In the immediate future, together with the improvement of planning, they must manage distribution and circulation well, enforce state discipline and state laws, manage the market, prices, the financial system and monetary activities well and restore socialist order to distribution and circulation.

The struggle to transform and manage the market is a revolutionary struggle; therefore, it must be the undertaking of the masses. Without the active participation of the working people in this struggle, victory cannot be won.

Consequently, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to establish their control over production as well as distribution-circulation and fully implement their right of ownership so that they actively participate in the accounting and control of the production and distribution of the social product and struggle against speculation and black marketing, against the negative activities of state cadres and personnel. Once the masses clearly understand how important it is for them to do this, they will surely participate in an active way in the struggle to transform and manage the market, combat negative phenomena within production and distribution-circulation and establish the wholesome and beautiful lifestyle of the new, socialist man.

FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from Le Duan speech at the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 237.

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MANAGING THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY BY MEANS OF LAWS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 6-9

[Article by Nguyen Huu Tho]

[Text] The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee states: "We must continue to concretize and codify the policy 'the party leads, the working people exercise ownership and the state provides management.' The socialist system of state law and state discipline must be strengthened. Well coordinated measures must be taken to combat bureaucracy, the abuse of authority and corruption and institute timely, fair awards and penalties in the spirit of the upper level setting an example for the lower level, persons within the party setting an example for persons outside the party."

In his speech at this important plenum, General Secretary Le Duan reminded those in attendance: "State management is management in accordance with laws. On the one hand, we must combat bureaucratic centralism; on the other hand, we must strictly maintain the system of law, emphasize the importance of discipline and resolutely combat disorganization, the lack of discipline and violations of state law. It is even more necessary for those who enforce the law, that is, the agencies and cadres of the state, to strictly obey the law."

The law is a component of the superstructure. It reflects the nature of the social system; at the same time, it reflects the level achieved in each stage of development of the social system.

To us, workers who have seized political power, the law is the instrument of dictatorship used to protect the gains of the revolution, establish the new social order and mold the new man and constitutes the bond of responsibility between the managers of society and society as a whole, between those who are the masters of society and those who manage society and among the masters of society. Every difference in terms of circumstances and characteristics between one area and another, one person and another is "normalized" in the form of obligations and rights under the law.

Of course, we realize that because our country has been completely liberated for less than 10 years, there has not been enough time for the state to

promulgate all the laws necessary in all fields of social life. This is work that will be performed at an urgent but steady pace in the years to come. Socialist law is not only the product of our philosophy of government, it also encompasses factors of reality, factors that emerge as commitments in production and communal life only when life itself reaches a certain level of development, thus helping to stimulate society's advance.

Socio-economic management, which is both a science and an art, is still something that is entirely new to use because our cadres still lack the necessary knowledge and skills. Socialist socio-economic management is even more complex. Its purpose is not only to deal with matters that arise, but primarily to transform and develop society in a conscious and well coordinated manner. In view of the facts that economic life is at the foundation of every political system and performing economic work is the key issue of the proletarian revolutionary government, economic law thus becomes the primary base of all law. The goal of socialism, simply stated, is to "build a life of comfort and happiness for the people"(NHAN DAN Newspaper, 20 June 1962). This is what President Ho taught. Le Duan has also said: "The essence of the class struggle is economic... The dictatorship of the proletariat, while it provides favorable political conditions for the abolition of exploitation, does not, of itself, give birth to socialism. It is the economy that gives birth to socialism"(November 1966 speech). We have seen that the strict enforcement of economic law protects the backbone of the system.

We are all cognizant of one major weakness on our part, namely, that many socio-economic regulations, having been allowed to become outmoded, not only fail to reflect the reality of the objective situation, but also pose obstacles to the development of this situation. Following the country's total liberation, we should have re-examined, on the basis of the new reality that existed--socialism being expanded to the entire country, the many differences between the North and the South and the existence of relative peace, all the socio-economic policies that had been previously adopted on the basis of a different reality: socialism having been established in one-half of the country, the country fighting a war and the fact that the policies on socialist construction in the North back then were necessarily limited in the face of the strategic task of "everything for the liberation of the South." That is to say, from 30 April 1975 onward, socialism in Vietnam demanded provisions of management law that were consistent with the new dimensions and quality of the Vietnamese revolution. Our patch-work approach has caused much disorder, as pointed out in the resolution of the 6th Plenum. However, this disorder is inevitable because we must temporarily use old regulations that are incomplete in nature until new regulations are adopted. The problem that confronts us here is that we are sometimes satisfied with outmoded measures that have not been improved upon, even satisfied with measures that are not consistent with a specific aspect or the entirety of the party's policy.

Therefore, while awaiting basic change, it is the job of every management organization on the various levels of the state to be thoroughly familiar with general principles--the principles involved in the three main goals of the development of the economy, the steady improvement of the people's standard of living and the centralized accumulation of capital by the state--and apply them in a flexible manner. If we take the most simple approach of all, the

approach that requires the least thought, that is, the old approach and disregard the actual results of regulations that were overtaken by life long ago, all of our fine intentions will go no further than appeals of a general nature.

At present, economic management is very decentralized. None of us is happy with the fact that each sector and locality manages production and circulation-distribution in a different way. There are many reasons for the decentralization in economic management, most notably the fact that our management system is one of administrative bureaucracy and subsidization. Each of us is aware of the fact that, for almost 10 years, although everyone has been complaining about grain and prices, everyone has managed to live and although everyone's standard of living is different, everyone has managed to live. Thus, what do we see? We see that the gross social product has managed to feed and support the people of our entire country. In addition, we see that this automatic distribution has had two harmful effects: first, inequities persist and are spreading--in the form of the unacceptable differences in income among citizens who live under the same system. Secondly, the amount of capital being accumulated for the industrialization of the country has been sharply declining; that which should belong to society is being put into the pockets of individuals, of localities, is being squandered, being used for the wrong purposes, even being used to corrupt society and oppose the country.

To correct this abnormal situation, it is necessary, of course, to conduct political and ideological work, to adopt correct positions and policies; however, from the perspective of science, there is a great need in management for laws to insure that this rather disorganized initial stage is wholesome in nature.

The foremost function of economic law is to stimulate and spur the development of production within each stage of the country and do so in a manner that complies with the general views, lines and positions and the specific policies at each place and time of our party and state. Economic law prevents the re-emergence of exploitation within the economic field and supports fair and reasonable distribution. Economic law guarantees that the working people exercise their right of ownership in economic activities and taps the dynamism and creativity of the masses and installations while insuring that the rights of the various strata of the population lie within the framework of the general level of development of the country's production and that the economic obligations of each person to society are fulfilled as required under the law. Such are the general aspects of economic law. Economic law also has the purpose of defining the responsibilities of the economic management sectors to one another, of the localities to one another and the responsibilities between the sector and locality, between the various levels and units.

In day to day activities, such complex relations can only be clearly defined through the law.

Here, one point must be made clear: the economy of the entire country is a single entity; when a level or unit does something that is harmful, the whole economy suffers and when a level or unit records an achievement, it is but a

part of an overall achievement. This point must be clearly made in order to eliminate the situation in which identical actions in directing the economic apparatus are viewed as either admirable or contemptible and dealt with in either a lenient or harsh fashion depending upon who takes them and also to avoid the problem of the failure of one sector or level to keep its commitments being understood as something representing broader interests while another sector or locality is criticized for not keeping its commitments. Precisely stated, doing whatever is convenient at the time is not just a lower level practice and it is clear that the harm caused by the lower levels in this regard is minimal.

Coordination is one of the strict requirements of economic activity. We have a common base, the plan. Of course, the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum (and other resolutions) have reminded us of the need to improve planning. The plan must be consistent with the actual capabilities of our country's economy and be designed to achieve steady, rational development over the long range, not to stimulate development beyond targets of a temporary nature with the result that the economy becomes crippled. We must endeavor to achieve stability and reduce the need for unexpected adjustments to targets (either up or down) so that the plan, above everything else, is, in essence, a strict regulation, is the legal standard during the period that the plan is in effect.

It is not surprising that the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum states: "We must take well coordinated measures to combat bureaucracy, abuse of authority and corruption and provide for fair and timely awards and penalties in the spirit of the upper level setting an example for the lower level, persons within the party setting an example for persons outside the party."

This discipline is itself law. In a case in which the law lacks all the articles needed to fully reflect the complex realities of economic life, discipline plays the role of an important supplement. Even when a fully detailed body of law exists, discipline continues to be a force guaranteeing the effectiveness of the law. And, this discipline must apply to each level and each sector without exception. In the past, while we have directed harsh criticism toward violations by individuals of criminal law, we have shown little concern for damage caused by irresponsibility in management and attached even less importance to persons and collectives that have been operating at a loss year after year and the damage caused by mistakes in guidance, even when they have adversely affected an aspect of the country's life.

The economic arbitration agencies are the agencies tasked with resolving economic disputes among management levels and units. Despite many efforts, economic arbitration still does not play a truly positive role. This is largely due to the fact that economic arbitration cannot fulfill its function amidst bureaucracy, administrative management and subsidization. It is partly due to the "understanding" approach that we have carried over from our former habit of being easy to get along with. It is also due to the fact that economic contracts are usually vague and general in nature, so much so that it is difficult to determine specific responsibility when obstacles are encountered. Lastly, it is due to too much administrative intervention, even

by political leaders, in production and business, as a result of which the voice of economic arbitrators carries less weight.

Not only must we soon make adjustments to economic arbitration activities, but it has also come time to establish an Economic Court to try cases involving contract violations. If a contract violation harms the economy and the responsible person is not appropriately punished, discipline will weaken and the social economy will fall into chaos.

We are gradually learning how to manage the economy. The strict application of economic management by means of laws is one of the requirements in the improvement of management and is truly a science.

I think that the functional agencies related to the laws should immediately turn their efforts to researching economic law from the perspective of three closely coordinated factors: guaranteeing centralized leadership by the state, tapping the initiative of the localities and installations and appropriately providing for the interests of the laborer.

With economic laws, the state will be able to have an impact upon the economic relations that form within the field of economic management by means of economic methods. Only in this way will administrative management, bureaucracy and subsidization have to deal with the strength of clear regulations on the state level and the practice of doing whatever is convenient at the time no longer have room to exist in management decisions.

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BUILDING PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES THAT ARE WORTHY OF BEING THE RELIABLE TOOL OF THE PARTY, THE EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP STATE, THE BELOVED SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 10-19, 41

[Article by Pham Hung]

[Text] Part I.

The revolutionary undertaking of our people is set against the background of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. The struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system is an extremely sharp and bitter struggle. The U.S. imperialists are urgently assembling forces, intensifying the arms race, threatening nuclear war, making extensive efforts to undermine peace and frantically opposing the three revolutionary currents in the world, the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

The imperialists and international reactionaries seek to crush the national liberation movement, to prevent countries that have won their national independence from developing toward socialism and have directed their attacks against the weak links in the socialist system.

Reagan, having launched the "new anti-communist crusade," has been promoting so called "democratization" within the socialist countries, which essentially entails stirring unrest and conducting subversive activities in the mold of counter-revolutionary "peaceful change".

The three revolutionary currents remain on the offensive. The socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, is steadily growing and becoming stronger in every respect and is the solid base of the struggle by the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, the initiatives that the Soviet Union has made to maintain and strengthen detente have further strengthened opposition to the nuclear arms race launched by the United States, given greater impetus to the movement to safeguard world peace and spurred demands for the dismantling of nuclear weapon bases, even within the imperialist countries and the developed capitalist countries.

The Chinese reactionaries, despite the fact that they suffered two disgraceful defeats in their wars of aggression on the southwestern and northern borders of our country, continue to make extensive preparations for new adventures in a vain attempt to achieve their basic, long-range objectives of conquering and annexing Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in order to open the way for expansion into Southeast Asia. In view of the current situation along our northern border, it is even more necessary for us to correctly evaluate, to recognize all the schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy against our country and all three countries of Indochina. The strategy and tactics of China have never changed, except to become more hostile and malicious toward us. They have been collaborating ever more closely with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionary powers in an intense wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country's revolution. This war is unlike the wars that our people dealt with and won victory over, such as the special war, the limited war, the "Vietnamized" war and the air war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists against the North, in past years.

In this war of sabotage, the enemy is sabotaging us in many different fields, in politics, the economy, culture, ideology, national defense, security, diplomacy... It is a very evil and dangerous war being waged by an enemy that is not yet capable of waging a large-scale war of aggression. They are sabotaging us by many means and methods, sometimes overtly, sometimes covertly. They are employing many crafty and clever methods, from some that are seemingly "innocuous" to some that are openly and brazenly hostile. They have been making extensive efforts to establish a spy network, incite the various types of reactionaries and other criminals and use the negative phenomena in our economic and social life to attack us from within, with their main target being the internal organization of the party, government, armed forces and mass organizations. They have massed troops along our country's northern border and made every effort to occupy a number of high points in our territory in coordination with sending commandoes and spies into our country to gather intelligence information and assassinate and kidnap cadres and civilians in a vain attempt to create a tense situation along the border. By means of "attacks from the outside coordinated with attacks from within," they hope to make "Vietnam bleed," to weaken us in many areas, make everyday life difficult, generate opposition and stir unrest in a futile attempt to carry out their plan to subvert and annex our country. Moreover, our people's struggle against this wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the enemy is also set against the background of our country being in the initial stage of the period of transition and having been ravaged by many years of war, of our country having just begun socialist construction and not yet completed socialist transformation. As a result, a new situation has arisen: the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism are intertwined in an extremely complex manner.

Under these conditions, it must be fully understood that winning victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionary powers is a very important task of the socialist revolution in our country, is an extremely important and pressing political task of our entire party, army and people in the new stage. We must not be vague about what is occurring, must not relax or drop our vigilance for one

moment in the face of this dangerous enemy. Immeasurable harm will result if we ever do drop our vigilance.

Only by defeating the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage can we create stable conditions for building the economy, building the material-technical bases of socialism, developing production, stabilizing and gradually improving the living conditions of the people and building our economic, national defense and security potentials. Moreover, defeating the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage is an effective way to restrain and discourage them in their plans for a large-scale war of aggression; at the same time, it is a positive way to achieve a high level of combat readiness so that we can successfully deal with the reckless launching of a large-scale war of aggression by the enemy.

The characteristics of the situation analyzed above permit us to reach some very important and necessary conclusions concerning methodology. They are: the struggle against the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage must be closely tied to the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism during the period of transition in our country. Thus, the task of building the economy must be closely coordinated with the task of strengthening the national defense and security systems; at the same time, the strengthening of the national defense system must be closely tied to the task of maintaining political security and maintaining social order and safety. The task of protecting the economy against economic sabotage by the enemy must be closely linked to the struggle against negative phenomena in economic activities. The task of protecting production, protecting the property within agencies and enterprises must be closely tied to the maintenance of social order and safety. To perform all these tasks, we must build truly strong internal security, most importantly party security.

To have a thorough understanding of the viewpoints presented above is to fully comprehend the close relationship between the two strategic tasks set by the 5th Congress of the Party.

Fully recognizing the new and very complicated features of the situation and understanding the matters presented above are of extremely important significance in guiding the struggle against the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and guiding the buildup of the people's public security forces in the new stage.

Part II.

The Vietnam People's Public Security Forces are an important tool of the party and the proletarian dictatorship state, are forces that the party and the esteemed Uncle Ho have worked hard to educate and forge, are forces that have received the wholehearted assistance and care of the people. In all stages of the revolution, our people's public security forces have constantly matured in every respect and recorded many glorious achievements in maintaining political security and social order and safety, thereby making worthy contributions to our people's revolutionary cause.

In the face of the new situation, in order to complete their task of maintaining political security and social order and safety in the new stage, the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "We must build people's public security forces that are pure, solid and strong in every respect, are truly the effective instrument of the proletarian dictatorship state, possess unquestioned loyalty to the fatherland, the party and the people and consist of modern, regular specialized forces that are politically dependable, skilled in their profession, well versed in science and technology and equipped with the necessary specialized equipment, solid and strong semi-specialized forces and a broad base among the masses, thereby insuring the excellent completion of each task."(1)

During the past several years, we have been working to implement Secretariat Directive Number 92 on the campaign to "Build Pure, Solid and Strong People's Public Security Forces and Promote the Mass Movement To Maintain the Security of the Fatherland." Under the direct guidance of the various party committee echelons, some good results have been achieved in the building of the people's public security forces, results that have not only enabled us to meet the requirements of the immediate task, but also create the conditions for completing the political task over the long range. We have further improved the political quality of the people's public security forces and maintained and enhanced their revolutionary nature, their class nature, their popular nature and their fine traditions. The organization of the people's public security apparatus has been additionally strengthened and operating procedures have been improved so that they are centralized, uniform, highly specialized and expeditious in carrying out political tasks in the new stage. We have formulated cadre planning and deployed and assigned leadership and command cadres in a way that meets the requirements of our new organizational model. Attaching importance to summarizing experience that has been gained, conducting scientific research into public security work and, on this basis, improving the political and professional standards of large numbers of cadres and soldiers, most importantly leadership cadres, have made practical contributions to improving both the skills and qualities of cadres. We have expelled from our forces thousands of cadres and soldiers who did not meet the requirements of the new task. The organizations of the party and the Youth Union have been solidified to lay the foundation for building people's public security forces that are pure, solid and strong.

Under the close leadership of the various party committee echelons, the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland has taken a step forward, especially in key, strategically important areas. The basic public security forces, such as the village and subward public security forces, the forces that provide security for agencies and enterprises and the mass organizations engaged in the maintenance of security and order, have been built up and solidified.

The fine results of international cooperation in the maintenance of security and order also represent a very important victory for the campaign in the recent past.

However, compared to the objectives and requirements that have been established, the people's public security forces still possess certain

shortcomings and weaknesses. Some units and localities have not fully concerned themselves with political and ideological work and have not fully educated their cadres and soldiers so that they have a deep understanding of the schemes and activities of the enemy and the organic relationship between the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism. The consciousness with which some cadres and soldiers approach combat alert duty and their spirit of responsibility are not high. Continued adjustments must be made to the task, authority and organization of some units and localities in order to resolve certain irrational aspects of the new organizational model. The system of orders and regulations on the operations of the various levels of the public security forces must be made more complete. The leadership and command qualifications and skills and the work methods of some cadres still do not meet the requirements of the new organization. Generally speaking, professional, scientific and technical qualifications are still low. In particular, there are still some cadres and soldiers who do not possess the personal qualities they should, who are not honest. Bureaucracy still poses an obstacle to efforts to cultivate the regular force, scientific style and work methods of the people's public security forces.

In order to develop upon the results that have been achieved in the campaign based on Secretariat Directive 92, the Ministry of Interior has launched an emulation movement (from 19 May 1983 to 19 May 1985) among all people's public security forces to study, learn and strictly practice the six teachings of the revered Uncle Ho to the people's public security forces.

Besides the characteristics that they share in common with the other sectors, the people's public security forces possess certain special characteristics. For example, they fight on a secret front against a secret enemy. All public security work demands constant militancy, is continuous, complex and decisive work and requires a high degree of urgency and precision in order to guarantee the absolute safety of the revolution, the people. It requires the integrated use of many forces and methods, including special forces and special professional methods. Public security work is performed by means of intelligence and physical courage and mainly involves a test of wits with the enemy. Cadres and soldiers operate in very complex social environments and must frequently fight by themselves on some quiet, invisible front...

On the basis of these special characteristics and through the process of implementing the party's line and view concerning the buildup of the people's public security forces, we have become increasingly aware of the need for the buildup of the people's public security forces to be very comprehensive in nature, to encompass politics, ideology and organization, encompass the human factor and technical equipment, encompass the personal qualities and capabilities of cadres and soldiers, encompass the development of scientific theory and the building of material-technical bases supporting the requirements of combat, work and everyday life. All of these factors are designed to insure that the people's public security forces excellently complete their task of maintaining political security and social order and safety in every stage of the revolution.

Our party considers the building of the people's public security forces politically and ideologically to be the matter of foremost importance. It is a guarantee that the people's public security forces possess unquestioned loyalty to the party, the fatherland and the people; that they gain a more thorough understanding of the correct and creative political line of the party, the general line, the economic line, the two strategic tasks...and give them concrete and clear expression in the policies, principles, plans and measures of the people's public security sector; that they excellently complete the political task assigned by the party; and that they are truly the dependable tool of the party, the effective instrument of the proletarian dictatorship state, the beloved sons and daughters of the people. We must teach public security cadres and soldiers to recognize the very sinister, crafty and dangerous enemy of our people at this time, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionaries to oppose and attack our country's revolution. We must heighten their socialist patriotism and proletarian international spirit, must imbue them with a deep hatred of the enemy so that they are always vigilant and bravely fight for the cause of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Direct leadership by the party, close ties to the masses and respect for the right of collective ownership of the working people are the most basic principles of the people's public security forces in waging a successful struggle to maintain security and order.

The "purely professional approach, the separation of the profession from politics," giving light attention to party leadership, having light regard for the great strength of the masses and not respecting the right of collective ownership of the people, which lead to a lack of unity and close coordination with the agencies and mass organizations within the dictatorship of the proletariat system will surely reduce the fighting strength of the people's public security forces in the struggle to maintain political security and social order and safety.

Building the people's public security forces politically and ideologically involves constantly cultivating the stand and viewpoint of the working class, the ideological standards and the overall knowledge of people's public security cadres and soldiers with a view toward insuring the best possible execution of the party's political line and task. The task faced in ideological work in this stage of the revolution is to give the people's public security forces a firm grasp of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the lines and policies of the party and the realities of the country, heighten their revolutionary zeal, develop their dynamism and creativity and raise their revolutionary-offensive spirit, their spirit of constantly taking the offensive and waging a relentless struggle against every enemy.

More importance must be attached to theoretical work, which is an indispensable part of building the people's public security forces

ideologically. The people's public security forces must routinely conduct preliminary and final reviews to gain experience in combat operations and the buildup of their forces. The scientific theory behind the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces must be developed through scientific research.

The building of the people's public security forces politically and ideologically must always be closely tied to building these forces organizationally, to improving their organizational skills, level of organization and operating procedures.

In order for the organization of the people's public security forces to be revolutionary and scientific, it must be consistent with the laws of struggle, consistent with its own special characteristics and meet the requirements of the political task during each specific period of time. The organization of the public security apparatus must be routinely strengthened and improved in a timely fashion so that it is an organization that has a very strict set of regulations, truly strict discipline and clearly defined tasks and duties, an organization that binds everyone together in common purpose and united actions.

Along with the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage, the activities of other criminals are still serious in nature. As a result, the scope of the management and maintenance of security and order must be constantly expanded. To meet this requirement, the strengthening of the organization of the people's public security forces must be continued under the guidelines of building integrated, highly specialized forces consisting of specialized forces, semi-specialized forces and a broad mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland, all of which must be under centralized leadership and a unified command. The semi-specialized forces must be urgently built up and strengthened by many different methods: providing them with professional training, supplying them with technical equipment, purifying their ranks and so forth as several provinces have done. Determined efforts must be made to correct the decentralization, bureaucracy, weaknesses and duplication in organization and operating procedures that impede combat coordination. We must establish a comprehensive and rational division of labor and responsibilities. In particular, urgent steps must be taken to scientifically define the functions, task, specific organization, operating regulations and work procedures in the public security activities of the various levels and units to insure high efficiency in combat and work. We must also urgently formulate and implement good cadre planning and assign cadres to jobs in exact accordance with the cadre standard of the party, most importantly key cadres, whom we must insure possess the qualities and abilities required by their task. Every effort must be made to strengthen the district and subward public security organization so that it is strong enough to quickly perform all work involved in the maintenance of local security and order.

Bringing about a truly strong change in the methods of leadership and guidance employed by the various levels of the public security sector is a very important factor. We must cultivate a revolutionary and scientific style of work; improve the way that the various leadership levels prepare and make decisions by improving the information system and accurately evaluating and predicting the development of professional situations; and be determined to

improve the way that decisions are implemented. Planning must be considered the central tool in the leadership and management of professional work. We must always concern ourselves with building the specialized, professional and mass organizations so that they are pure, solid and strong in every respect. We must continuously increase the leadership strength of the party organization, increase the command and management effectiveness of leadership cadres and uphold the right of ownership of cadres and soldiers. We must forge militancy and a style of urgency in public security work and be determined to eradicate bureaucracy throughout the people's public security forces. Determined efforts must be made to insure that all public security cadres and soldiers truly and thoroughly respect, protect and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people. This must not be viewed as some general slogan, as something that is done for form's sake, but must become the essence of what we do, must go beyond the teaching of ideology and consciousness and become part of one's actions, become concrete and living reality that is spread each day through the specific procedures, orders, regulations and standards of the various levels of the public security sector and public security units, especially the basic units.

Training must be conducted on an appropriate scale in order to establish a corps of cadres that is well coordinated and balanced in terms of the occupations and qualifications it represents and is well suited to the task of each force within the new organizational apparatus.

Years ago, in order to win victory over the aggressor powers of imperialism and international reactionaries, our party, applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the unique aspects of our country's situation, gradually established the revolutionary and creative science of the Vietnam people's public security sector, the foundation of which was laid by the esteemed Uncle Ho. Today, in the new period, in order to successfully implement the revolutionary line of the party and maintain security and order, our party, by utilizing all the experiences that have been and are being summarized and by attentively observing and incorporating the achievements of the fraternal socialist countries in the science of public security, will surely advance the science of Vietnamese public security to a new level of development, win victory over every enemy, firmly maintain our national security and improve social order and safety.

Part III.

To successfully complete the task of building the people's public security forces in the new stage, we must adhere to the following basic points of view:

1. The people's public security forces are the reliable tool of the party, the effective instrument of the proletarian dictatorship state, the beloved sons and daughters of the people.

President Ho Chi Minh's teachings that "our public security forces are people's public security forces who serve the people and rely upon the people in their work"(2) and "the revolutionary public security forces are an effective weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat"(3) confirmed the popular nature, the class nature and the revolutionary nature of our Vietnam

People's Public Security Forces.

Clearly, in order to insure that complete and thorough victory is won in the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism, our people must use the state as their most important tool. The functions and tasks of the state encompass all fields of social life: developing and managing the economy, culture and society and providing for our national defense and security. These fields are closely linked to one another. Consequently, the functions of the proletarian dictatorship state must be understood as comprising an entity and implemented as such.

The people's public security forces are an armed force and a vital instrument of violent force of our party and state, are the key, shock force in the fulfillment of the proletarian dictatorship state's management of society from the standpoint of security and order. They are an effective instrument through which the working people exercise their right of socialist collective ownership in the field of security and order throughout society. Today, and for a long time to come, because we face a situation in which we must deal with both domestic and foreign enemies, the people's public security forces are a tool for uncovering, preventing, thwarting and defeating attempts by the enemy to sabotage us from within and plans to unleash a war of aggression against us. As the esteemed Uncle Ho pointed out: "There are times of war and times of peace. In war time, the army fights the enemy; in peace time, it trains. Public security forces, however, must fight the enemy constantly; they are busy in time of war and even busier in peace time."⁽⁴⁾ This is our party's basic view concerning the position, role and task of the people's public security forces in the various stages of the revolution, especially in the present situation. Every attitude and inclination that gives light attention to the buildup of the people's public security forces is contrary to the basic view of the party, ultimately reduces the strength of the proletarian dictatorship state and causes immeasurable, serious harm to efforts to maintain national security and stabilize social order and safety in the present situation. Therefore, being concerned with building and solidifying the people's public security forces so that they are increasingly pure, solid and strong is the responsibility of our entire party, our entire army and all our people.

2. Further strengthening the leadership and guidance of the struggle to maintain security and order, of the buildup of the people's public security forces provided by the various party committee echelons.

The leadership of the party determines the nature of the people's public security forces. President Ho Chi Minh once taught: "The various party committee echelons must truly assist and closely lead the public security forces."⁽⁵⁾ "Only when the party provides correct political leadership can their specialized functions be correctly fulfilled. Both the armed people's public security forces and the army must obey the leadership of the party from top to bottom. It can be no other way."⁽⁶⁾ The resolution of the 5th Party Congress also pointed out: "The party provides the armed forces with direct, centralized and unified leadership in the fields of politics, ideology and organization"; "the various party committee echelons and secretaries must closely supervise public security agencies and the people's public security forces and personally guide efforts to strengthen and solidify these agencies

and units."(7) However, to achieve the best possible results in their work of leading and guiding the people's public security forces, party committees must also possess the necessary knowledge of specialized, professional public security work. As Uncle Ho taught: "...Local leaders must also study and gain an understanding of specialized professions so that they can effectively resolve new problems that arise."(8)

Party work within the people's public security forces must insure the party's political, ideological and organizational leadership of public security units. In any situation or stage of development, in any unit or locality in which the leadership provided by the party organization is lax, even in a small unit, there is the danger that the unit will lose its fighting strength, even lose sight of its combat objective.

Party work within the people's public security forces must entail a struggle against the purely professional approach to public security work and a determined effort to combat unreasonable bureaucracy. Every incorrect attitude and approach must be struggled against, must be promptly and thoroughly criticized within the basic organizations of the party.

3. Employing the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat system and closely coordinating with the various sectors and mass organizations in the maintenance of political security and social order and safety and the buildup of the people's public security forces are the basic factors that determine each victory in the struggle to maintain political security, maintain social order and safety.

President Ho often taught us that "unity is strength," that "unity is the force of inevitable victory." In the various stages of our struggle, the combined strength of the Vietnamese revolution has been proven to be invincible.

He instructed the people's public security forces: "You can only achieve success in your work by uniting with each other, uniting with the people and with the other sectors."(9) With regard to coordinating with the other sectors in combat, he especially stressed the need for close unity between the People's Army and the people's public security forces: the public security forces and the army are the two hands of the people, the party, the government, the dictatorship of the proletariat; therefore, it is even more necessary for them to closely unite with and assist each other and make every effort to develop upon their strengths and correct incorrect thinking."(10) It was precisely to comply with the teachings of the esteemed Uncle Ho that the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior issued joint Ministerial Directives Numbers 01 and 02.

In the work of building and protecting the revolutionary government, this combined strength has truly been an effective force in the struggle to maintain political security and social order and safety. In the immediate future, we must continue, under the leadership of the various party committee echelons, to maintain smooth and effective coordination among the sectors, agencies, mass organizations, forces and organizations within the dictatorship of the proletariat system in order to combat the wide-ranging war of sabotage

of the enemy. There must be good coordination among the public security, control and judicial sectors with regard to strengthening the system of law in order to correct the abnormal situation that exists now, namely, the fact that many laws and regulations have been promulgated but they are not being strictly enforced. There must also be very good coordination between the people's public security forces and the People's Army, the militia and self-defense forces and the various mass organizations in the maintenance of political security and social order and safety, especially in the struggle to defeat the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and in the struggle to fight and prevent crimes and negative phenomena within society.

The types of coordination described above must be fully embodied in integrated programs and plans. These programs and plans must be scientifically formulated and focus on those aspects, locales and fields that are of most critical importance. With a full understanding of the thinking of taking the offensive in the struggle against all types of crime and negative phenomena, every sector, agency, mass organization and social organization within each locality and throughout the entire country must display a high spirit of ownership, effectively organize the struggle and resolutely combat all types of crime. Positive steps must be taken to make our internal organization pure, solid and strong and we must take the initiative in thwarting and attacking, continuously attacking, the enemy. There must be close coordination between effective attacks and effective prevention, with primary emphasis upon prevention and special importance attached to attacks. Efficient coordination must be established among all forces, sectors and mass organizations, with the public security sector serving as the shock force, as the nucleus, so that we can effectively prevent and attack, continuously attack, all types of crime by means of many different methods and measures within each locality and throughout the country. Depending upon the requirements and conditions that exist at each place and time, large-scale campaigns can be mounted, in which the coordinating forces consist of all sectors and mass organizations, in order to achieve many different objectives at once. Small-scale campaigns can be conducted to achieve one specific objective, to deal with a specific type of crime within a specific area or field. And, campaigns can be nationwide in their scope or restricted to the scope of an individual locality. We must know how to win victory by means of campaigns and must also know how to win victory in each specific battle, in each specific case, especially serious cases. However, an even more important and basic requirement is the need for us to know what each household, each person is doing and, in this way, take the initiative in uncovering, struggling against and preventing crime, thereby competently supporting the socio-economic, security and national defense plans of the state.

If every agency, mass organization, enterprise, state farm, worksite, cooperative...provides tight internal management, builds a solid and strong internal organization and effectively prevents and attacks all types of crime and negative phenomena, we will surely succeed in creating an invincible combined strength. The use of this combined strength by the various leadership levels is an art.

4. Building the people's public security forces is the process of "fighting and winning victory while building forces that are pure, solid and strong."

It is only through their work and the fight that they wage that our people's public security forces can steadily grow and mature. This process is the process of "developing upon strengths and correcting weaknesses on the basis of serious self-criticism and criticism." It is the process of cultivating new factors, the process of constantly discovering and cultivating models and multiplying the number of advanced models while resolutely purging public security ranks of degenerate and deviant elements. To be solid and strong, these ranks must be pure.

The process of building the people's public security forces is closely tied to the process of revamping the state management system, increasing the effectiveness of state management and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people under the leadership of the party.

It is the process of coordinating the buildup of the people's public security forces with the development of the other instruments of force employed by the proletarian dictatorship state, such as the People's Army, the People's Organ of Control and so forth, which are the instruments through which our state organizes and manages the struggle to maintain security and order. Efforts to establish, strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the militant coordination among these instruments of dictatorship can only yield the best possible results when there is a solid consensus concerning political requirements, the positions and policies of the party and the laws of the state and they have popular support.

5. The buildup of the people's public security forces must be closely tied to developing the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland.

Organizing the masses within a movement as large as the movement to "maintain the security of the fatherland" truly demands a wide variety of creative measures and forms of organization that are consistent with the vital interests of the masses in order to establish the conditions needed to stimulate the movement's widespread and steady development. The realities of many localities verify this.

In conjunction with propaganda and education, we must make good use of organizational measures and administrative, economic and legal measures in building and strengthening the movement. At the same time, we must define the task, plan and specific guidelines in the struggle of each level, sector and installation. We must study the feasibility of training and deploying a contingent of core cadres in order to create the conditions for the people to implement the plan and guidelines established for the struggle well.

Because the people's public security forces are the shock force, the nucleus of the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland, the buildup of the people's public security forces clearly has a very strong impact upon the development of this mass movement. Conversely, through the development of the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland, the people's public security forces are built. It is only through the realities of combat

and work and through the mass movement that we can learn the best lessons for cultivating the qualities and raising the professional standards of cadres and soldiers, for purging public security ranks of degenerate and deviant cadres and soldiers.

The closeness between the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland and the buildup of the people's public security forces is an objective requirement, is a law in the struggle to maintain security and order, a law that controls the entire process of development of the mass movement and the process of development of the people's public security forces. Every attitude and action that separates the buildup of forces from the mass movement is contrary to this law and restricts, to some extent, the development of the movement and even the buildup of the people's public security forces.

As they have fought and grown, the people's public security forces have always acknowledged that each of their achievements has originated in the clear-sighted leadership of the party and the esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, in their unity and close coordination with the People's Army, with the various sectors and mass organizations and in the love, care and assistance provided by the people. The Vietnam People's Public Security Forces must always have a precise understanding of their role and task in the new stage, always uphold the fine nature and tradition that are theirs in order to excellently complete the important tasks assigned to them by the party and people. Because, this is a matter of the most profound and practical significance in being worthy of the trust of the party, the state and the people and expressing gratitude to the great President Ho Chi Minh, the beloved father of the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces.

FOOTNOTES

1. Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 45-46.
2. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh voi nganh cong an nhan dan Viet nam" [President Ho and the Vietnam People's Public Security Sector], published by the Ministry of Interior, 1980, p 75.
3. Ibid., p 45.
4. Ibid., p 19.
5. Ibid., p 47.
6. Ibid., p 28.
7. Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Volume III, pp 89 and 91.

8. "President Ho and..., " p 28.
9. "President Ho and..., " p 25.
10. "President Ho and..., " p 27.

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PEACE MUST BE PRESERVED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 21-25

[Speech by Hoang Tung at the Regular Conference of the Party Central Committee Secretaries in Charge of Matters of Foreign Affairs and Ideology of the Fraternal Socialist Countries held in Prague on 11 and 12 July 1984]

[Text] Dear Chairman,

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we sincerely thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for having provided such fine accommodations for our conference in the beautiful and hospitable capital of Prague, the political, economic and cultural center of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, the scene of many important international activities over the past several decades.

We extend our warmest greetings to the delegations of the various fraternal parties attending this conference.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam unanimously agrees with the opinions expressed by Comrade Bilac, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Comrade Ponomariov, head of the Soviet delegation, and other comrades concerning the guidelines and measures for increasing the coordination among our parties in the fields of propaganda and ideology in the present international situation as well as in the activities conducted by us to commemorate the upcoming 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism.

Dear Comrades,

The development of the world situation over the past several years, especially recently, fully confirm the observations made by previous conferences of the Party Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal socialist countries. It is not our purpose here to reiterate these observations, but only to express some additional thoughts on recent developments in the world situation, in

general, and the situation in Asia, in particular, in order to point out some problems that confront us in our propaganda and foreign affairs work.

The tense world situation of the past several years and the increasing threat to the peace and security of nations caused by the extremely reactionary militaristic line of U.S. imperialism have recently become especially serious because:

- a) The United States began to deploy medium-range missiles in Europe in late 1983 and has begun pursuing the arms race at full speed and extended it into outer space.
- b) The United States has established a U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance while intensifying the strategic collaboration among the United States, Japan and China.
- c) The United States and the reactionaries have increased their activities against the forces of national independence in many regions, especially in Central America, the Middle East, South Africa and Southeast Asia.

The deployment by the United States of medium-range missiles in Europe is part of its plan to gain strategic military superiority in order to pose an increasingly large threat of war from the West to the Soviet Union and the socialist community. New and deserving of attention is that the efforts made by the United States to accelerate the establishment of the military alliance among the United States, Japan and South Korea while intensifying the strategic collaboration among the United States, China and Japan are part of a plan to increase the intimidation of the Soviet Union and the socialist community from the East. The United States declared the entire Asia-Pacific region to be a region of "vital interest" of the United States and advanced the so called "Pacific doctrine" with the support of the Nakasone government, the force behind the militarization of Japan.

Clearly, the Reagan administration is attempting to establish in Asia and the Pacific a NATO style military and political alliance extending from Northeast Asia down to Southeast Asia and create in this region a shock force second to the United States in strength with a view toward opposing the socialist countries, opposing the revolutionary movements of the peoples of all countries, primarily the countries of this region. This eastern NATO, which will be an important element of the global counter-revolutionary strategy of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, bears a resemblance to the trilateral axis that existed before World War II. The central force of eastern NATO, the U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance, is supplemented by the strategic collaboration among the United States, Japan and China. None other than the Chinese authorities themselves have voiced their endorsement of an eastern NATO. This scheme of Washington, which has the support and the participation, to some degree (behind the scenes), of Beijing, is making the situation on the Asian continent increasingly tense and turning Asia into a region of confrontation. We think that it is necessary to expose and denounce at the very outset this dangerous scheme to open this new "second line of defense" of the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices, especially those who boast about being socialist and pretend to be "in the middle" but who, in

actuality, are intensifying their collaboration with the imperialists, both in word and deed. At a time when the struggle between the two forces of revolution and counter-revolution is becoming an extremely sharp struggle throughout the world, taking a stand "in the middle," regardless of the motive behind it, is akin to "joining the enemy in fighting your own camp," is essentially an act of joining the battle ranks of imperialism.

Dear Comrades,

Due to the militaristic line of the U.S. administration, the situation is very tense on both the "first line of defense" and the "second line of defense." However, in the face of the strength, militant solidarity and coordinated actions of the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, the most bellicose of the imperialist and reactionary powers, although they are continuing--and will continue for a long time to come--to pursue a policy of confrontation, a policy of escalating the arms race, are clearly unwilling, in view of our vigilance and readiness to retaliate, to recklessly plunge into a direct conflict with the Soviet Union and the socialist community because such would be nothing more than an act of suicide on their part. Therefore, in the immediate future, their policy of confrontation is an arrow aimed at three different targets at once:

--Creating the conditions for negotiating with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries from a position of strength;

--Causing the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to waste their resources in a costly defense buildup in coordination with other schemes of sabotage (economic encirclement, intervention in internal affairs in the name of "human rights" and other psychological warfare efforts) in a vain attempt to weaken or at least retard the overall development of the socialist countries, mainly by posing obstacles to the implementation of our socio-economic programs;

--Limiting the amount of support provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the struggles for national independence and social progress by the peoples of the countries of the world so that their hands are freed to suppress these struggles.

It has not been surprising that recently, as the bellicose imperialists, while intensifying their policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe and accelerating the establishment of the military alliance in Asia, have been and are continuing to insanely counter-attack the revolutionary forces in the "third world," in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national independence movement is continuing to develop strongly and many countries are leaning toward the socialist path of development. This so called region "in the middle" is the scene of a bitter struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution. There, the imperialist and reactionary powers have increased their coordination in a vain attempt to block and push back the forces of revolution. Because, they know that their fate, that is, the result of the struggle to resolve the question of "who will triumph over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale will be largely decided by whether the countries of this

region remain within the sphere of imperialism or become independent countries that are strengthened and developed by following the path of progress and socialism, thereby steadily reducing the scope of their control and changing the balance of power in a manner increasingly unfavorable to them. Nations must guard against and be ready to deal with the possibility of small wars breaking out and spreading in this bitterly contested region. As we did in the past and will continue in the future, our socialist countries always have the international obligation of giving the national liberation and social liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America full attention and stronger support in our propaganda and foreign affairs work as well as in the other fields.

Dear Comrades,

Although the bellicose, militaristic line of the imperialist and reactionary powers, headed by the U.S. imperialists, has made the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress by the peoples of all countries more difficult and complex, it is clear that our enemy has been continuously defeated in their schemes.

The have failed to regain strategic military superiority and also failed in their attempt to divide and sabotage in a vain attempt to weaken or at least impede the growth of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The United States cannot play the role of international and regional policeman of imperialism as it plans. The High Level Conference of CEMA Member Countries reviewed the tremendous achievements that have been recorded by the socialist countries in many areas of building and perfecting developed socialism. These achievements have been the results of the efforts made by each country combined with cooperation and mutual assistance among the council's members. The Declaration of the recent high level conference once again strongly expresses the firm stand and the high spirit of responsibility of the socialist countries in the face of the dangers posed by the reckless policy of the bellicose imperialist powers and proves that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are unwavering in their adherence to a policy of peace based in principle that reflects both good will and determination. The communist party and people of Vietnam have a high appraisal of the Declaration of the CEMA high level conference and are determined to fulfill their obligation as a member of the council. The continuous peace initiatives that have been made, including the important proposals recently made by K.U. Chernenko, indicate the Soviet Union's desire for peace and its readiness to seriously negotiate on the basis of equality and mutually assured security. On the other hand, however, the retaliatory measures of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member countries are entirely necessary and proper. These measures and the other measures taken to further strengthen the national defense capabilities of the countries within the socialist community reflect the adherence to principle and the uncompromising stand of the socialist countries on issues related to the security of our community. Imperialism cannot prevail through a policy of pressure.

They have also met with many setbacks in their attempts to suppress the national liberation movement and the social liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite encountering numerous difficulties and even suffering losses at some places, the struggle of the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is continuing to develop, is gradually defeating the policy of intervention and aggression of the imperialists and reactionary powers. The most significant recent development has been the victory won by the patriotic forces of Lebanon by forcing the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy to withdraw their forces from the region following 18 months of intervention. The defeat of the United States in Lebanon is of tremendous political significance. It proves that the United States is experiencing a crisis of strategy following its defeat in Vietnam, proves that the United States is increasingly less able to "wage war through the hands of others" or return to the region through direct military intervention. The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon and the failure of the Israel-Lebanon treaty have led to the collapse of the agreement between Egypt and Israel. This defeat of the United States has encouraged the Arab nations in their struggle against the United States and, at the same time, forces the pro-U.S. Arab governments within the region to give thought to their own policies.

In Central America and the Caribbean, socialist Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua, through their own tenacious struggle and with the sympathy and support of the forces of socialism, peace and progress in the world, have continuously strengthened their forces in every respect despite the intimidation of the North American imperialists. The brave fight being fought by the people of El Salvador continues to develop strongly. In this region, there is increasing opposition to U.S. intervention.

Imperialism, headed by the United States, has also suffered a defeat in its attempt to weaken and disorient the anti-nuclear war peace movement. The spring offensive by the forces of peace in western Europe, North America, Japan, the Atlantic and so forth was intense, strong and clearly anti-American. At these places, the struggle for peace has been increasingly tied to the struggle for democracy and the right to live. The recent general strike by coal miners in Great Britain, the struggles of the metallurgy and machine workers in France, of workers in Italy, Belgium, West Germany, Portugal, Spain and so forth in recent months signal a new wave of struggles by the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries at a time when the general crisis of this system that has been denounced by history is becoming increasingly serious.

We think that our propaganda work must promptly reflect, analyze and evaluate each of the above mentioned victories won by the forces of revolution so that more and more people on this planet realize that although the world situation is very tense, although the threat of war is very large, peace can be preserved and the revolution can still continue to advance. Because, this is the irreversible momentum of our times.

At the same time, we must do much more to expose the corruption of capitalism and intensify our propaganda against the psychological war, which is an important component of Reagan's anti-socialist "crusade."

Dear Comrades,

As an inseparable part of the world in the present tense international situation, the situation in Southeast Asia is also smoldering. It is not surprising that Southeast Asia has been a region ablaze with revolution for the past several decades. Nor is it surprising that one imperialist and reactionary power after another has made Vietnam and the three countries of Indochina one of the main targets of their counter-attack. This has primarily been due to the facts that the two great revolutionary tides of our times, national independence and socialism, came together at an early date within the region and are on the offensive.

Chinese hegemonism and U.S. imperialism are closely coordinating to oppose the countries of Indochina.

On numerous occasions, we have declared our desire to settle the issues between Vietnam and China through negotiations and eventually restore normal relations with China. However, the Beijing authorities have not made one positive response to any of our proposals. Rather, they have continued to coordinate with the United States and the reactionaries within the region and continued to look for every way to isolate, sabotage and weaken Vietnam in every respect, to divide the three countries of Indochina, to divide Vietnam from the other countries within the socialist community. It also came as no surprise to us that the heavy artillery shellings and the operations by regiments and divisions of China (many main force units of five armies together with a huge air force contingent are still massed along our northern border provinces) against the northern border of Vietnam began while Reagan was visiting China and, following that trip, the collaboration among China, the United States and the Thai reactionaries against Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos clearly increased. These constitute the most serious acts of war since 1979. Through this border war, they seek to gobble up territory of Vietnam (as well as Laos and Kampuchea), sabotage our efforts to build the country and weaken the southeastern outpost of socialism. The support provided by the fraternal socialist countries has heartened the army and people of Vietnam in the face of the cruel and savage attacks by China against our country. Once again, we express our sincere gratitude to the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries for having always stood by our side in the complex and long struggle of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina against the powers of imperialism, expansionism and regional reactionaries. By standing shoulder to shoulder and acting with greater unity, we will surely thwart every attempt by the enemy to divide and break us apart.

Dear Comrades,

In 1985, together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, we are preparing to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism. On 7 February 1984, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam issued a resolution on organizing ceremonies to commemorate this major anniversary along with a number of other important anniversaries that will be commemorated by us in 1985, the 40th anniversary of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the present day Socialist

Republic of Vietnam (19 August and 2 September 1945-19 August and 2 September 1985) and the 10th anniversary of the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation (30 April 1975-30 April 1985).

We associate these anniversaries with one another because of our belief that without the victories over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism, the victory of the August Revolution and the birth of the new Vietnam would have been impossible. The Vietnamese have the saying: "When drinking water remember its source." On the occasion of this major anniversary, we will conduct widespread activities of a mass nature in order to give our party, army and people a clearer understanding of the tremendous sacrifices and great contributions made by the Soviet people and the Soviet Red Army under the leadership of the CPSU through the decisive fight they waged, along with other forces, to save mankind from the scourge of fascism and open the way for a new tide of world revolution, including the Vietnamese revolution, and a clearer understanding of the strength, role and position today of the Soviet Union and the socialist community in the struggles to achieve the noble goals of our times, the most urgent of which is the struggle for peace against the danger of nuclear war. These formal and widespread mass anniversary activities will be conducted under the general slogans: "Everything for the construction and defense of the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people" and "Let us wage a determined struggle against imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the Chinese expansionists and contribute to the cause of safeguarding peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world."

I thank you for your attention.

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THE CAPITAL HANOI--30 YEARS OF BUILDING AND FIGHTING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 26-32

[Article by Tran Vi, member of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee]

[Text] The event that occurred on 10 October 1954, the total liberation of the capital Hanoi from the yoke of occupation by the French colonialist aggressors, marked a turning point of extremely large significance in the thousand year history of Thang Long-Dong Do-Hanoi. After Ly Cong Uan moved the capital to Thang Long in 1010, our country's age old capital was occupied several times by enemy forces and liberated several times by our people through the strength of their unity, their unyielding will, their bravery and tenacity. However, no previous liberation was as large or profound in significance as this one. It was the liberation that occurred in the age of the great President Ho Chi Minh and the leadership of the glorious communist party in our country, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the world. From that date onward, Hanoi was free of aggressor forces and the people of the capital had solid conditions upon which to become the masters of their lives and work together to build a life entirely different from the one they had been living.

However, following liberation, Hanoi faced a situation rarely faced by the capitals of other countries: the true peace that was necessary in order for efforts to be devoted to construction did not exist. Shortly after the victory over the French, Hanoi began a bitter resistance against the U.S. imperialists, one that lasted for nearly 20 years. Hanoi must deal everyday with an extremely insidious and cunning wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Hanoi's heart always beats in rhythm with the country, always shares every adversity and hardship of the country. The history of our capital over the past 3 decades can be divided into three periods.

--During the first decade from 1954 to 1964, Hanoi took over the impoverished, crippled economy and social system left behind by the French colonialists. Hanoi had to spend time restoring its economy and carrying out socialist transformation before turning its hands to the first 5-year socio-economic development plan (1961-1965); meanwhile, it continued to do its utmost to

support the hard struggle being waged by the compatriots of the South to reunify the fatherland.

--During the second decade, from 1965 to 1975, Hanoi carried out socialist construction while sending manpower and materiel to support the South in its fight to win victory over the U.S. aggressors. On the other hand, Hanoi itself won victory over two savage air wars of destruction waged by the U.S. Air Force in order to protect the capital, protect the socialist North. Its slogans at that time were "Everything for victory over the U.S. pirates" and "Not one kilogram of paddy less than needed, not one soldier less than needed" for the frontlines.

--During the third decade, from 1975 to the present day, the entire country has been independent, unified and advancing to socialism. Shortly after Hanoi adopted its new socio-economic development plan, the betrayal by the Chinese expansionists caused many large difficulties. Hanoi, standing shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the country, contributed to the defeat of the two wars of aggression on our borders and must now constantly deal with the wide-ranging war of sabotage, a war in which the capital is a key target of enemy sabotage.

Against this background of continually having to fight while working to build the capital, we can, above everything else, proudly confirm one very large and overriding achievement recorded during the past 30 years:

Hanoi fulfilled its obligation as the center of the great rear area of the fraternal South, defeated the two wars of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists, recorded the feat of arms known as the "Dien Bien Phu in the skies," contributed to the defeat of the two wars of aggression along our borders and has begun to defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the Chinese reactionaries, thereby making worthy contributions to the liberation and reunification of the country and firmly defending the capital and the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

It is difficult to calculate all the manpower and materiel mobilized by Hanoi during the past 30 years to support the country's common revolutionary undertaking. Even during the early days of the uprising in the South (1959-1960), Hanoi sent cadre after cadre, soldier after soldier across the Truong Son to open roads for the fight against the United States. Hanoi, the home of the "three readies" movement, mobilized hundreds of thousands of youths to go anywhere and do anything required by the fatherland. Countless able-bodied, intelligent and skilled laborers left their fields, enterprises, worksites, cooperatives, agencies, schools and research institutes and made their way to all the different battlefields, ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland. In the rear area, there were the spirited "three readies" movement of women and "three resolves" movement of intellectuals, which were conducted amidst the atmosphere of "everyone emulating to work twice as hard for the sake of the fraternal South, of the Saigon-Hue brotherhood." When the enemy began to drop bombs directly on Hanoi, the armed forces and people of the capital, never once became discouraged, never feared the destruction or loss of life and accepted the challenges of that decisive test of strength for the sake of the South. The

people of the capital endured hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs dropped by the enemy on the city and its outskirts, which destroyed two-thirds of the city's villages, 108 industrial installations, 97 schools, 54 public health facilities and 100,000 square meters of housing. However, the people of the capital also dealt the enemy well deserved retaliatory blows. They shot down 35 enemy aircraft and killed or captured many pilots. In particular, during the last 12 days and nights of 1972, they broke the power of the American strategic Air Force by shooting down 23 B-52 superfortresses, two F-111's and five other jet aircraft, thereby forcing Nixon to agree to return to the Paris conference and bring the war of aggression against Vietnam to an end. This incomparable feat of arms, this "Dien Bien Phu in the skies," shook the conscience of progressive mankind and caused our friends in the world to lovingly call Hanoi the "capital of human dignity." The armed forces and people of Hanoi were deserving of the commendation "heroic" and the Independence Order 1st Class awarded them by the state and the "Determined To Win Victory over the U.S. Aggressors" Rotating Banner, which was awarded to them five times by President Ho.

When the Chinese reactionaries launched their war of aggression against our northern border, the armed forces and people of Hanoi again began to actively provide manpower and materiel to the frontline. They have sent tens of thousands of cadres and youths to build the security defense line and continuously met two draft recruits to augment main force units. The armed forces of the capital, which have been steadily built up, have, together with the people, defeated many of the enemy's schemes to sabotage the capital, maintained political security and are ready to deal with any plan by the enemy to unleash a large-scale war.

During the past 30 years, although it has had to build and fight at the same time and sometimes even rebuild projects that were destroyed by the enemy as soon as they were completed, Hanoi has still managed to make great advances in socialist construction.

It has abolished the exploiting classes, established the new production relations and begun to build the material-technical bases of socialism, thereby transforming Hanoi from a consumer city into a producing city, into a major economic center of the country.

When the French colonialists withdrew, they left behind a consumer city. During the years of occupation, the city lived by meeting the requirements of the French ruling apparatus and expeditionary army and although the city appeared prosperous, its prosperity was entirely artificial, was not based on production. Workers and farmers were persons who worked for hire, were oppressed and exploited. Hanoi, therefore, suffered very heavy consequences. However, we quickly wiped out social ills, carried out agrarian reform, abolished the landowner class, carried out agricultural cooperativization, carried out the socialist transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce and reorganized small producers. These steps, which amounted to a fundamental change in production relations and the structure of society, awakened the spirit of enthusiasm and the tremendous potentials of laborers, who henceforth became the owners of their fields and factories.

At the time of liberation, Hanoi had only eight enterprises engaged in repair services employing about 1,369 workers and about 5,000 laborers in the handicraft trades. Through patience and positive efforts, we gradually built the material-technical bases of socialism in Hanoi, beginning by building an industry capable of supplying agriculture and the other sectors of the economy with new equipment. Even during the war, factories and enterprises were continually built and operated either within the city or at sites to which they were evacuated. Today, Hanoi has 266 enterprises (114 of which are local enterprises) employing 105,000 workers and 438 small industry and handicraft cooperatives employing nearly 130,000 laborers, which produce 38 times more in value than in 1955. In 1983, 4.5 times more capital was invested in capital construction than in 1965. Many large industrial complexes have come into existence, such as Thuong Dinh, Dong Anh, Xuan Hoa, etc. Many large-scale water conservancy projects and projects supplying electric power and tractors for agricultural production have been constructed. Numerous state farms have been established. Large-scale communications and transportation projects, such as the Thang Long Bridge and the Chuong Duong Bridge, dozens of cultural, sports, education and public health projects, including such well known projects as the Polytechnic College, the gyneco-obstetric hospital, the children's hospital, Hai Ba Trung Hospital, the Teenagers' and Children's Cultural Center, the Worker Cultural Palace, the Thang Loi Hotel, the Dimitrov Child Care Center and so forth and many multi-story housing projects have been and are being constructed. Due to the achievements recorded in the construction of the capital over the past 30 years, present day Hanoi is many times larger than it was in 1954. What used to be the "five gates" to the city are no longer gates, but have become residential areas in the middle of the city. Construction projects have not only supported production and everyday needs, but also changed the terrain and appearance of the city. There have been times when all of Hanoi has been one huge construction site and were it not for the war and the destruction caused by the bombings, Hanoi would be much larger and more beautiful than it is today.

As regards industry, in addition to its main strength, its machine industry, which is capable of retooling the various sectors of the national economy, Hanoi's local industry (which consists of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades) produces a rather wide variety of consumer goods, from bicycles, clocks, sewing machines and sewing needles to various types of cotton, synthetic and silk cloth, leather, plastic and rubber products, etc. Although industrial production is presently encountering many difficulties due to the shortage of energy, supplies and raw materials and because the management system has been improved slowly, there is one large achievement that cannot be denied, namely, that Hanoi, once a consumer city entirely dependent upon a foreign country, has become a city that lives on the basis of its own productive labor, become a large industrial center that meets a portion of the needs of the entire country, mainly the needs of the North. Through the efforts of the class of collective farmers and the competent support provided by industry, the outskirts of the city have become the grain and food product belt of Hanoi. Rice yields quickly reached 5 tons per hectare; Dan Phuong District has recorded a yield of 8.2 tons and some cooperatives have exceeded 10 tons per hectare. Positive steps are also being taken to develop the potential for the production of industrial crops in the outskirts of the city for domestic consumption and exportation.

Education, public health, cultural activities, science, the protection of mothers and children and efforts to mold the new man have continuously developed and served the needs of the mass of working people, thereby making Hanoi worthy of being the cultural and scientific-technical center of the entire country.

This, too, represents a significant advance. Our education, public health, cultural activities, scientific activities and so forth have been developed to support production and everyday life, to serve the mass of working people, not for the sole benefit of several wealthy strata of exploiters as was the case under the old system.

In late 1958, Hanoi virtually wiped out illiteracy, thus becoming the first locality to record this achievement in the North. Today, all the citizens of Hanoi have a level I education, all cadres and youths have a level II education and, at many agencies and units, all personnel have a level III education. The education system has developed rapidly: all subwards and villages have basic general schools and the 16 wards, districts and cities have 52 general middle schools with an enrollment of more than 600,000 students on the two levels. Whereas it once had only two colleges, Hanoi now has 31 colleges and academies, 32 vocational middle schools and 44 technical worker schools that annually train tens of thousands of technical cadres and workers. Today, sons and daughters of the working people in every village of the capital, even its most remote, are graduating from colleges at home or abroad. There are also nearly 100 natural science and social science research institutes in the capital. Child care centers and kindergartens, once virtually non-existence, have now become an education sector with facilities everywhere, thereby contributing to the early education of the generations of the future.

As regards public health services and health care, a network now extends from the city down to the wards, districts, subwards and villages, to each agency, enterprise, cooperative and school. Practically all villages have a public health station and maternity clinic. Besides the leading hospitals managed by the central level, there is a network of general and specialized hospitals extending from the wards and districts up to the city that is relatively uniformly distributed and coordinated with the disease prevention hygiene movement among the people, consequently, we have been able to virtually eliminate a number of social diseases and prevent the outbreak of many major epidemics.

Another basic difference is that the culture and art of Hanoi today are wholesome in content and varied in form. Socialist culture has deeply permeated the spiritual life of the people of the capital. Another important point is that the working people do not merely enjoy the products of culture and art, but have become the very creators of these products. The mass literature and art movement has developed rather widely at installations, among adults as well as teenagers and children, thereby helping to cultivate many new talents.

Physical culture and sports are also a widespread mass movement that has attracted everyone from elderly persons at outdoor physical culture clubs to

youngsters in mass campaigns to achieve physical conditioning standards. Gifted youngsters are being trained by many academic, physical culture and sports schools. Hanoi athletes have set many records in gymnastic or athletic competitions within the country and have been important members of Vietnamese teams competing against teams of foreign countries.

The overall result of the three revolutions (the production relations revolution, the scientific-technical revolution and the cultural and ideological revolution) is that new persons of the socialist capital are gradually being molded, persons who reflect the new, socialist qualities and virtues; have inherited the fine tradition of the citizen of our capital, a capital that has been civilized for 1,000 years; are rich in patriotism and love socialism; are diligent and creative in their work; are politically aware; are steadfast in the face of each challenge; possess a rather high cultural standard and refined aesthetic talents; lead a style of life that is simple and wholesome; are courteous and hospitable; and possess the socialist international spirit.

During the past several years, because many difficulties have been encountered in production and everyday life, because we have been somewhat lax in our socio-economic management, neglected to teach about the struggle between the two paths, between ourselves and the enemy and been slow to overcome negative phenomena, the large results mentioned above have been adversely affected. We believe that this is only a temporary, limited phenomenon that will be corrected. Our capital and its citizens, who have been tempered in the many challenges of the past 30 years, will surely move forward to overcome every difficulty and record even larger advances.

The growth of Hanoi over the past 30 years has been mainly due to the wise and correct leadership provided by the Party Central Committee and government. As the capital of the country, Hanoi has been treated with special attention and concern by President Ho, by the highest leaders of our party and state. One week after the liberation of the capital, the esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, during a reception for representatives of the people of Hanoi, advised the compatriots of the capital that they must "energetically work to constantly develop every activity of the capital in order to set an example for, in order to lead the people of our entire country." Le Duan, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong have attended and issued valuable instructions at the various congresses of the Hanoi party organization. This concern has been vividly expressed in the resolution of the Political Bureau conference on the work of the capital Hanoi (January, 1983), which the party organization and people of Hanoi are making every effort to implement.

Under the close and concerned leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Hanoi party organization has tried to apply and concretize the lines, positions and resolutions of the party in a manner consistent with the circumstances of the capital, encourage and teach cadres, party members and the people to display the spirit of socialist collective ownership and mobilize the forces of all levels, sectors, agencies and mass organizations within the locality to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions and gradually transform and develop Hanoi into a socialist capital. Over the past 30 years, the people of Hanoi have displayed enthusiasm and diligence in their

work, displayed bravery and tenacity in combat and, as the Political Bureau resolution observed: "In the face of the difficulties being encountered in everyday life and the complex developments in the socio-economic situation, the majority of the cadres, party members, manual workers and civil servants in Hanoi have maintained their good qualities, shown themselves to be politically stable, made determined efforts to overcome difficulties, taken positive steps to implement and protect the lines and policies of the party and state and struggled against negative phenomena." A foreign friend of ours once remarked: "Hanoi is a city of builders who never tire, who rebuild when something they have built is destroyed."

Hanoi has also received concrete guidance from the Council of Ministers, assistance from the ministries and sectors on the central level, the support and encouragement of the provinces and other municipalities of the country, including the support of Vietnamese living overseas, the support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, of progressive countries and personalities, of many friends in the world and, in particular, tremendous assistance of many different kinds from the Soviet Union and the strong sympathy and support of Laos and Kampuchea. These have been the main factors in the growth of Hanoi during the past 30 years.

In the face of the requirements of our very large tasks in the new stage of the revolution and in view of their responsibility to build the socialist capital of the country, the citizens of Hanoi cannot feel satisfied with what has been accomplished, especially compared to the requirements that the Political Bureau resolution has set for the capital, requirements that we are still far from meeting.

In the immediate future, besides its basic advantages, Hanoi will continue to encounter major difficulties. Material and technical bases are being developed slowly, especially the infrastructure and public projects, which are extremely underdeveloped and inadequate compared to the rapidly growing population. The majority of the raw materials needed for industrial, small industry and handicraft production must be imported. A considerable portion of the grain, food products and agricultural raw materials needed by Hanoi must be supplied by the central level and neighboring provinces. Hanoi is a place where large numbers of cadres, manual workers and civil servants, wage earners, are concentrated and the state has the responsibility of meeting each of their essential needs. Consequently, when difficulties are encountered with imports and supplies from the sources mentioned above, the production and daily life of Hanoi are affected more severely than in other localities, thus providing an opportunity for negative phenomena to arise. An important portion of the state's socio-economic management apparatus, an apparatus characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization, is concentrated in Hanoi, consequently, eliminating bureaucracy and subsidization, as we are trying to do now, is not easy. The capital Hanoi is also the focus of a wide range of efforts by the enemy to sabotage us, especially the focus of the enemy's spy war and psychological war in conjunction with economic and cultural sabotage.

To overcome the difficulties described above, the party organization and

government of Hanoi are making every effort to rectify the shortcomings on our part that were pointed out in the Political Bureau resolution on the work of the capital:

--The leadership being provided by the municipal party committee is not truly dynamic or responsive and does not truly reflect a sense of moving forward through initiative and creativity. Its thinking is that of relying upon the central level, upon the state and its conservatism and inertia have been overcome slowly, as a result of which it has failed to fully utilize the tradition and strengths of the capital to overcome the difficulties being faced and adapt to the new situation.

--The municipal party organization is somewhat subjective and does not clearly understand that our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition, that the struggle between the two paths continues to be a sharp struggle, consequently, it has been somewhat lax in many areas of socio-economic management.

--Neither the quality nor effectiveness of party building are high and efforts to build the party have failed to develop the fighting strength and leadership ability of a large party organization that has many high level party members, such as Hanoi's. Although there is an abundance of cadres, the way that cadres are selected, trained and assigned to jobs does not meet requirements.

On the basis of the above mentioned assessment made by the Political Bureau, the 9th Congress of Delegates of the Municipal Party Organization (June, 1983) candidly reviewed and criticized its shortcomings and adopted guidelines for rectifying them, determined to raise the party organization to the level of its new tasks and meet the socio-economic goals that have been established.

Recently, in order to implement the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, our municipal party committee once again harshly criticized the lack of dynamism, responsiveness, initiative and creativity, criticized the fact that bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism and inertia are still deeply entrenched and widespread and criticized the decentralization and lack of organization and discipline in efforts to organize the implementation of lines and policies. On the basis of these criticisms, it adopted a program of action designed to implement the resolution of the plenum.

Under the light of the resolutions of the Political Bureau and party plenum, the municipal party organization realizes that it must always keep in mind and successfully meet the following requirements:

1. Correctly establishing the requirements and specifics involved in every aspect of Hanoi's development on the basis of the fact that Hanoi is the political, cultural and scientific-technical center and also a major economic center and international trade center of the country.
2. Attaching importance to building a party organization that is solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally, especially to cadre work.

3. Upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the people in all aspects of social life and constantly improving the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages" within the capital.

4. Strengthening the government's role in managing the municipality, making every effort to strengthen the three levels of government within the municipality, boldly assigning management responsibilities to the wards, districts, subwards and villages and coordinating management measures well so that each level is fully capable of exercising its right of ownership.

During the past 30 years of struggle and growth, the party organization and people of the capital have derived very much happiness from the fact that the esteemed President Ho Chi Minh and the highest leaders of the party and state have provided them with thoughtful and caring leadership and guidance. The Political Bureau resolution on the work of the capital together with the other resolutions of the party are a torch lighting the way, are a source of great inspiration to the Hanoi party organization. With absolute confidence in and adherence to the lines and policies of the Party Central Committee, the party organization and people of the capital, who have stood their ground in the face of every challenge and fearing neither hardship nor sacrifice, will surely overcome every difficulty that confronts them and march bravely forward to complete the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland, thereby making Hanoi worthy of being the heroic capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, repaying the compatriots of the entire country for their trust and meeting their expectations.

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THE ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE OF HA TUYEN PROVINCE RESOLUTELY DEFEAT EVERY SCHEME OF AGGRESSION AND SABOTAGE OF THE CHINESE REACTIONARIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 33-36

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thieng]

[Text] Ha Tuyen is the frontline province on our country's northern border. The Vietnam-China border runs along the former province of Ha Giang for a distance of 270 kilometers, passing 33 villages in 7 districts: Xin Man, Hoang Xu Phi, Vi Xuyen, Quan Ba, Yen Minh, Dong Van and Meo Vac. In their war of open aggression in February, 1979, as well as during the 5 years of their extremely malicious wide-ranging war of sabotage against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Chinese reactionaries have considered Ha Tuyen to be the focal point of their acts of encroachment and sabotage in a vain attempt to establish a springboard from which to widen the war of aggression when conditions permit. They have committed countless very serious crimes against the people of Ha Tuyen Province.

During the very first days of 1984, the Chinese reactionaries created a very tense situation along the border of Ha Tuyen Province, thereby making the socio-economic life of our people in the border areas one of constant instability. They moved in many additional divisions and military corps (including the 14th Military Corps, which participated in the war of aggression in February, 1979), massed them along the border across from Vi Xuyen, Yen Minh, Dong Van and Meo Vac Districts and issued a "war time mobilization" order. They have been continuously transporting weapons, ammunition, supplies and modern combat equipment to the border and making extensive efforts to strengthen and expand the military communications network, battle positions, fortifications, trenches and so forth along the border. They have sent many intelligence agents, commandoes, spies and Vietnamese reactionaries of Chinese ancestry who fled to China deep into the interior of our country to conduct reconnaissance and intelligence activities, ambush and kidnap cadres and civilians, plant mines in roads, engage in acts of harassment, set forests afire, establish counter-revolutionary bases, provoke attempts to undermine the unity among the various nationalities and

buy the allegiance of undesirable elements and draw them into opposing and attacking our country's revolution. They have been unceasing in their false accusations and slander against Vietnam, threatened war and spread the rumor that some places would be attacked and occupied during the New Year's Tet.

In particular, since April of this year, Ha Tuyen Province has had more land occupied by Chinese forces for a longer period of time and been subjected to heavier, more continuous artillery fire by Chinese forces than any of the six border provinces since the war of aggression in February, 1979. During the slightly more than 4 months since April, Chinese forces have fired more than 170,000 artillery shells, heavy mortar rounds of all types and H12 rockets into 28 villages of the 7 border districts and a number of areas that lie from 10 to 20 kilometers from the border, such as Phuong Tien, Phuong Thien, Phuong Do and Thuan Hoa (Vi Xuyen District), Phong Quang and the wards of Quang Trung and Yen Bien (Ha Giang City), Quyet Tien (Quan Ba District), Na Khe, Sung Chang and Sung Thai (Yen Minh District) and Thai Phin Tung (Dong Van District). Many areas, such as Thanh Thuy, Thanh Duc, Bach Dich, Phu Lung, Lung Cu and Dong Van, have been the target of continuous, ravaging shelling since the start of April. Ha Giang City has been shelled with many heavy artillery rounds on four different occasions, one of which lasted for 3 days. Not 1 day passes without the sound of Chinese aggressor forces firing their artillery at areas along the Ha Tuyen border. As is the objective of the Beijing authorities, these shelling attacks have inflicted great loss of life and property on the compatriots of Ha Tuyen Province. Hundreds of persons have been killed or injured, the majority of whom have been elderly persons, women, children, teachers and students, and hundreds of buffalo, cattle, horses and hogs have been killed or stolen and taken back to China. Chinese artillery rounds have set fire to and destroyed thousands of civilian homes, warehouses, schools, public health stations and hospitals and destroyed thousands of hectares of rice, corn, industrial crops, fruit trees and precious wood, with preliminary estimates placing the damage at more than 54 million dong. This is irrefutable evidence of the Chinese reactionaries' crimes of murdering innocent civilians and destroying economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social institutions, which are denounced and prohibited by international law and custom. The people of Ha Tuyen Province will forever carry a deep hatred in their hearts for the crimes committed by the great Han expansionists.

Since their shameful defeat in their war of aggression in February, 1979, which forced them to withdraw their forces to the other side of the border, the Beijing authorities, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, have continued to nurture their insane ambition to expand down into Indochina and Southeast Asia by a variety of methods. They have often used armed forces to occupy land belonging to us or organized local bandits. In October, 1980, they sent a regiment to attack and occupy Hill 1992 in Xin Man District. In May, 1981, they mobilized a large force to attack and occupy Hills 1800A, 1800B and 1688 in Vi Xuyen District. Since April, 1984, they have sent many division size main force units very heavily supported by many heavy artillery units and technical branches to insanely launch many attacks against and occupy a number of hills within the territory of Ha Tuyen Province. On 18 April, numerous Chinese battalions opened an assault in a vain attempt to occupy Hill 1250 in Yen Minh District; however,

they were given the punishment they deserved by the local armed forces and people, who killed many of their troops, destroyed many means of war and forced them to quickly flee back to China. On 28, 29 and 30 April and 1 May, they attacked again and occupied Hills 1509, 772 and 233 in Vi Xuyen District and the area around Hill 1250 in Yen Minh District. On 13 May, they launched a series of attacks and occupied Hill 1030 in Vi Xuyen District. Although the armed forces and people of Ha Tuyen have vigorously retaliated and killed many of their forces, the Chinese reactionaries have continued to mass many infantry and artillery divisions along the border with Dong Van District while launching many attacks in a vain attempt to occupy Hill 1911. On the hills that they have occupied, they have been making every effort to strengthen their forces and urgently digging trenches, building bunkers and building roads with the intention of making their occupation permanent, establishing a foothold from which to prepare for other attacks to occupy land of ours or expand the territory under their control, threaten traffic along roads, disrupt production and intimidate the compatriots of the ethnic minorities that live in the areas along the border of Ha Tuyen Province. Together with their overt and brazen acts of armed encroachment upon and occupation of territory of ours, the Chinese reactionaries are engaged in a plot to bring together bandits and reactionaries in exile and send them into our country to set up a "shadow government" in a number of mountain hamlets and villages in the districts of Xin Man, Hoang Xu Phi and Meo Vac along the northern border with a view toward establishing a springboard from which to intensify the war of sabotage and expand their encroachment upon and occupation of our territory in an even more insidious and cunning manner. On 21 June, they secretly sent troops into Lung Cu Village in Dong Van District to destroy Border Marker Number 17. This was an extremely insolent action, an action taken to gradually nibble away at territory of Vietnam, an action that was totally contrary to their often proclaimed argument that they "do not covet one bit of Vietnamese soil." The means and methods of which the Chinese reactionaries have been and are making increased use to encroach upon and occupy territory of Vietnam (shellings and attacks by armed forces, bringing together bandit forces to set up a shadow government, destroying and moving border markers, redrawing the historical border on maps...) in the border areas of Ha Tuyen Province have also been and continue to be employed by them in a number of border areas in Hoang Lien Son, Cao Bang and Lang Son Provinces. They have also been making every effort to create the conditions for persons who have betrayed the revolution, betrayed the fatherland to conduct clandestine activities against the Vietnamese revolution and implement the traditional policy of divide and conquer, the policy of "using Vietnamese to rule Vietnamese."

The aforementioned criminal actions by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against the ethnic minorities of Ha Tuyen Province as well as other provinces of ours show that their hostile policy toward Vietnam, the purpose of which is to weaken and eventually annex Vietnam, has never changed, rather, it has become more insane, more cruel and barbarous, more obstinate. Yet, at the very time that these crimes have been occurring, those in power within the Celestial Palace and their propaganda machine have been busy day and night making all sorts of gross and false accusations in an attempt to turn black into white. They are screaming and shouting at the top of their lungs that "Vietnam is concentrating troops along the border in preparation

for a new attack," that "Vietnam has invaded and occupied many places in Chinese territory," that "we have no choice but to fight to the end to defend ourselves".... These are indeed the voices of "thieves crying out for help."

Together with the armed forces and people of the other northern border provinces, the armed forces and people of Ha Tuyen, upholding the splendid tradition of Song Lo and historic Tan Trao, have fought tenaciously and given the Chinese aggressor forces the punishment they deserve. In February, 1979, a Chinese infantry corps supported by tanks and artillery and accompanied by tens of thousands of militia troops launched a massive attack on the Ha Tuyen border. At the very outset, they were dealt heavy blows, as a result of which thousands of the aggressors paid for their crime and many tanks and means of war were destroyed. Some 20 days later, they were tragically defeated by the armed forces and people of Ha Tuyen and, on 11 March 1979, the Chinese aggressors were forced to withdraw from Ha Tuyen. The resounding feats of arms recorded during those days have inspired and encouraged the armed forces and people of Ha Tuyen to record many new achievements in their punishment of the Chinese aggressor forces during the past 4 months, achievements that have heartened the people of our entire country. In April and May, Ha Tuyen inflicted heavy losses on 11 battalions and destroyed 20 artillery and mortar positions of the Chinese forces. On 11 and 12 June, the armed forces and people of Vi Xuyen District, turning their hatred into strength, wiped out the enemy forces at three positions they had occupied deep within our country and inflicted heavy losses upon one regiment and one battalion, killing 70 enemy troops, capturing a number of prisoners and destroying 12 artillery pieces and 6 100 millimeter mortars of the enemy. Then, on 22 July, coordinating in combat, border defense troops and militia forces of Quan Ba District killed 16 aggressors that had deeply penetrated our country in the area of marker number 15, capturing two rifles, two radios and five compasses. On 28, 29 and 30 July, the armed forces and people of Vi Xuyen District again inflicted well deserved punishment upon the Chinese aggressors by beating back three separate assaults by an infantry battalion, killing more than 200 enemy troops and rendering four artillery pieces and a number of vehicles used to tow artillery unusable. With each successive feat of arms, the armed forces and people of Ha Tuyen have further enhanced the brilliant tradition of patriotism, determination to fight and win and revolutionary heroism of the ethnic minorities within the province. From the frontline facing the forces of the enemy to the large rear area, the compatriots of the fraternal ethnic minorities within the province have formed themselves into a solid, united bloc within the battlefield deployment that has been established to fight the enemy and defend the border of the fatherland. During these days of heavy fighting, the compatriots of Bac Me, Bac Quang, Ham Yen, Chiem Hoa, Na Hang and Son Duong Districts and Tuyen Quang City have constantly had the frontline in their minds and promptly provided large amounts of manpower and materiel to the frontline in order to win victory over the enemy. Although it is newly established and consists of only a small number of villages, Bac Me District sent dozens of tons of grain and hundreds of buffalo, cattle and hogs to the front during the very first days of fighting. Tens of thousands of persons in Vi Xuyen District and Ha Giang City have voluntarily gone to help dig trenches and battle positions or transport grain and ammunition to assist troops. Hundreds of students at the province's School of Education who are preparing to become teachers are also standing shoulder to shoulder with soldiers in

combat trenches fighting the Chinese expansionist forces. While the persons on the front have been bravely killing the enemy, the elderly and the young have been evacuated to safe places and are being cared for well. Vi Xuyen District has done everything possible to provide the nearly 2,000 families that have gone to evacuation sites with food, shelter and other daily necessities and enable them to easily resume production. In the final analysis, both the actions and heart of the rear area are closely tied to the frontline. The entire country has Ha Tuyen in its thoughts, is supporting the Ha Tuyen frontline in the fight to win victory. The army and the people, the frontline and the rear area feel even closer to each other and the battlefield deployment from which the forces of the Chinese expansionists are being fought in Ha Tuyen is becoming more solid with each passing day. The traditions of patriotism and resisting foreign aggression, the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, the determination to fight and win, the close unity among the ethnic minorities within the province, between the army and civilians, between the frontline and the rear area, the strong leadership of the various levels of the party, from the basic to the central levels...these are the basic factors helping Ha Tuyen to win victory in the fight against the Chinese aggressors and defend the fatherland while maintaining political security, maintaining social order and safety, stabilizing the lives of the people and continuing to work in a creative manner to build the socialist fatherland.

Our cruel and dangerous enemy seeks to weaken and eventually annex Ha Tuyen and all of our country. However, the well deserved punishment that has been inflicted upon the enemy by the armed forces and people of Ha Tuyen Province recently is our nation's adamant reply to them.

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NEW GUIDELINES FOR INVESTMENTS IN COAL PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 37-41

[Article by Tran Anh Vinh]

[Text] Coal is a raw material, a source of energy of many production sectors: "...Without the coal industry, we cannot conceive of any modern industry, any plant or factory. Coal is indeed the bread of industry, without it industry will grind to a halt..."(1)

In recent years, a number of advances have been made in coal production in our country; however, generally speaking, annual coal output is still low and does not meet production, consumer or export needs. There are many reasons for this, one of which is improperly oriented investments in coal production.

The resolution of the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out that we must "raise coal output to 8 million to 9 million tons in 1985 and create a cushion of nearly 5 million tons in output for the 1986-1990 plan."(2)

To meet this target, it is necessary to boldly change coal production guidelines by establishing rational balance in terms of the structure and ratio of investments between long-term and short-term projects and scientifically coordinating large, medium and small mines and necessary to correctly select where investments in production should be made so that coordination between immediate and long-range tasks, between accumulation and consumption is insured.

Because we are advancing to socialism from a poor and backward country, a country with very limited material-technical bases and capital, coal production guidelines and decisions about where to make investments must be consistent with the characteristics of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. Therefore, our coal production guidelines and decisions about where to make investments in the years ahead must reflect coordination, continuity and selectivity.

To be effective, rational production guidelines and investments must result in a shorter production preparation cycle, the rapid turnover of capital and

quick returns from investments. Coal production demands large investments in capital construction, mine construction time is long and capital construction must be carried out on a regular basis in order to maintain design capacity. Therefore, the most rational production guidelines that can be adopted to meet the criteria of coordination and selectivity are to closely coordinate investments in the construction of large projects with investments in the construction of medium and small-scale projects, with appropriate attention given to the latter.

The length of time needed to build mines depends upon each project, that is, upon whether it is an underground mine or opencut mine, and upon its design output. The amount of time that must be spent in capital construction is the same for a high output opencut mine producing 2 million tons per year as it is for an underground mine with an output of 500,000 to 600,000 tons per year. When design output is the same, capital investments in underground mines are much larger than the capital investments that must be made in opencut mines. At present, we consider large projects to be projects that have a long capital construction time (usually 10 years) and high design output, regardless of whether they are underground mines or opencut mines. Medium and small-scale projects are projects that require no more than 4 or 5 years of capital construction.

Large projects demand large capital investments, their design and construction are complex and they go into production slowly because their construction time is long; however, these projects yield a large quantity of product and high economic returns. The drawbacks of medium and small-scale projects are that they cannot be highly mechanized, the capacity of mines is not large and product output is not large; however, these projects can be quickly put into production because capital construction can be completed in the space of 3 or 4 years and capital investments in these projects are not large. Moreover, the design and construction of medium and small-scale projects are consistent with the skills of our cadres and workers at this time. Thus, from the perspective of present capital investment capabilities and the immediate as well as long-range needs for coal, priority should be given to investing in medium and small-scale projects. In our opinion, about 80 percent of investment capital can be allocated for medium and small-scale projects and 20 percent for large-scale projects. Only in this way can we avoid the problem of capital being tied up for many years. Giving appropriate attention to medium and small-scale projects but not limiting the construction of a number of large projects is an approach that will yield high economic returns and is the best way to coordinate immediate and long-range requirements. In essence, this is the practice of "using short-term crops to support the production of long-term crops," using coal production to support coal production and is entirely consistent with our country's actual situation at this point in time.

Decisions about where investments should be made must be based on the production guideline of giving priority to opencut mines and making full use of exposed veins because opencut mines, even those with an output as high as 2 or 3 million tons per year, only require about 4 to 5 years to prepare for production. For example, the Cao Son Mine, an opencut mine with an output of 2 million tons per year, went into production at the start of 1980 following slightly more than 3 years of preparatory work. Underground mine projects are

projects that require many years to build, especially the large mines. Therefore, in the stage immediately ahead, in addition to making selective investments in a number of large opencut mines, appropriate investments should be made in medium and small-scale underground mines that have an output of roughly 300,000 to 400,000 tons per year in order to meet the need to quickly begin producing more coal. At the same time, attention should be given to investing in the construction of medium-scale mines, small-scale mines and opencut veins beside large mines because this is a way to increase coal output within a short amount of time and is also a practice that makes full use of the auxiliary projects and surface projects of the large mines by relying upon their material bases. On the other hand, opening medium and small-scale mines beside large mines is a practice that is well suited to our country's geological conditions. Under the 1976-1980 five year plan, we completed nine medium and small-scale mines next to large mines; since 1980, these mines have annually produced more than 2 million tons of coal. In addition, in view of our country's present circumstances, appropriate attention must be given to organizing the production of coal at the mines scattered throughout the various localities of our country. This is very necessary in meeting local needs for coal, reducing transportation costs and making full use of the natural resources and labor of localities in order to develop industry.

In our country, the majority of coal mines lie in the hills and mountains; therefore, in order to conform with geological conditions, each mineral deposit can be divided into many different strata and many different sections so that the same deposit can be mined from many different shafts at once. The Mao Khe Underground Mine adopted a suitable investment program and opened many different veins by dividing them into many strata and sections, as a result of which it economized on initial investment capital and quickly began producing coal. The approach to the mining of coal taken by the Mao Khe Mine is well suited to our mine conditions and equipment and, because of this, has yielded high economic returns.

However, in the process of deciding where investments should be made, attention must be given to making investments in intensive development rather than spreading investments over too broad a scope. For example, when the construction of the Khe Cham I Mine, which will have an output of 300,000 to 350,000 tons per year, is completed, we should build a Khe Cham II Mine in order to make full use of the material bases of the Khe Cham I Mine and the Cao Son station chute and develop this area to its fullest capacity before starting the construction of a new area, the Khe Tam Mine.

Investments in coal production must be made regularly. This not only means investing in the construction of many mines at once and coordinating the opening of large mines with the opening of medium and small-scale mines in order to correct the problem of being brought from the ground slowly, but also that a reasonable percentage of capital should be invested in the routine capital construction work performed at each operating mine. The characteristic of coal production is that the natural resources of each mine are gradually diminished by mining operations. Consequently, if investments are not made in providing additional equipment in order to build new shafts, open new veins, build new roads and waste sites, if investments are not made in projects that supply compressed air, electric power and water, in the

stripping of additional overburden and so forth, the mining of coal cannot be continued. The essential purpose of these additional investments is to maintain mine output, especially the output of underground mines. The percentage of capital allocated for these investments must be balanced with the total capital investment made initially (and should not be too low, as is the case now).

Our major shortcoming in the development and management of the coal industry is our failure to be fully aware of or appropriately concerned with the infrastructure of coal production, the consequences of which are that coal is mined slowly or loses some of its quality as a result of becoming backlogged by transportation delays. Consequently, attention must be given to making appropriate investments in the infrastructure, which consists of everything from those elements that directly support the mining of coal, such as tipples, wharves and storage yards, transportation, machine repair and equipment maintenance facilities and so forth to such indirect projects as public health, cultural and educational facilities, stores, housing and so forth, to insure that the coal production line is well coordinated. Only in this way can we avoid the problem of projects within mines being unable to mine coal once they have been constructed because surface projects have not been constructed and the problem of mined coal becoming backlogged at wharves and storage yards due to a shortage of means of transportation, tipples and loading equipment. According to the experience of the Soviet Union and many other advanced countries, the ratio between investments in coal mining and investments in the superstructure should always be 6/4. We have been allocating too high of a percentage (81.2 percent) of our capital for investment in mining operations and only 18.8 percent of our total capital for the construction of the infrastructure, as a result of which projects outside mines, roads and drainage projects within mines have not been completed as designed. We have failed for many years to give appropriate attention to housing for manual workers and civil servants and other public welfare projects, such as theaters, movies, parks, medical treatment and recuperation stations, summer vacation houses, services and so forth, as a result of which we are not motivating mine workers or attracting new workers.

Maintaining the required rate of construction and putting projects into production in exact accordance with the plan help to insure that the returns set forth in initial investment guidelines are achieved. To accomplish these objectives, the making of investments must be well organized, must be closely coordinated among the units participating in investments and construction, which include those making the investments and the survey and design units, the units performing the various types of construction and assembly work, supply units, transport units and so forth. Due to the lack of close coordination between design and construction, construction and assembly work at mines, especially the large underground mines, such as Vang Giang and Mong Duong, generally takes from 1.5 to 2 times longer than planned. This has had a considerable effect upon the production of coal and the returns from investment capital.

To implement coal mining plans well and achieve high returns from investment capital, it is necessary to allow the coal mines, the places where labor, supplies and equipment are directly used to mine natural resources and where

the economic right of collective ownership of the mass of workers is implemented, to display greater independence in their production and business operations.

Much is involved in giving the enterprises greater independence in their production and business. Here, however, we shall only discuss this matter from the perspective of the plan. The plan is the main tool of the economic management system; therefore, when talking about the production and business independence of the enterprise, we must first discuss independence from the standpoint of the plan, discuss the system of legal norms assigned by the state to mines. At present, in order to maintain centralized, unified management by the state while increasing the production, business and financial independence of the state-operated enterprises, our state, on the basis of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, has reduced the system of legal norms from nine to five, four of which pertain to the enterprise's responsibility to the state:

--Realized output value (including exports).

--Product delivered (including for exportation) in accordance with the qualitative standards set in contracts.

--The percentage by which production costs are reduced.

--Profits and payments to the budget.

And, one norm pertains to the state's responsibility to the enterprise: the primary materials supplied by the state.

Under this system of five legal norms, the mine director can take the initiative in organizing production on the basis of the mining plan approved by the ministry, in using labor efficiently, in using economic levers to stimulate timely increases in labor productivity, make economical use of supplies, capital and so forth but the state still controls the primary product produced by the mine so that it can develop the national economy.

In a situation such as the one we are now experiencing in which our economy is imbalanced, the creation of a new degree of independence in production depends upon both the state and the enterprises and mines. On the one hand, the state must try to gradually begin providing a full, coordinated and timely supply of equipment, raw materials, building materials, fuel, spare parts and other supplies to mines and enterprises; the financial, banking, pricing and other sectors must create the conditions for installations to develop their production. On the other hand, the state can enable enterprises and mines to obtain on their own what they need to accelerate production provided that mines complete their plans on the delivery of products to the state, the amount of which is determined by the quantity of supplies provided by the state; remaining products can be exported by the mine in order to earn foreign currency with which to purchase materials and equipment in order to expand production. However, the expansion of the export and import relations of every economic unit with foreign countries must be tightly organized under the unified administrative-economic management of the Ministry of Foreign Trade

and must be done in a way that takes economic returns and the common interests of the national economy into consideration.

Our planning has long been flawed by bureaucratic centralism, by a failure to uphold and guarantee the right of economic collective ownership of installations, as a result of which we have failed to develop all the potentials of mines. To correct this weakness, the production plan of the installation must be formulated from the lower level upward, not handed down from the upper level. The mines and corporations should be able to take the initiative in formulating their production plans on the basis of their actual capabilities, the control figures and instructions provided by the upper level and the economic contracts they have signed with their customers. These plans would then be adjusted by the upper level (either by creating additional capabilities or reducing requirements), approved and assigned to the enterprise to implement.

Establishing correct production and investment guidelines, improving planning and providing the mines and enterprises with increased independence in production and business will create the conditions for the coal industry to quickly increase coal output and meet the production and export needs of the national economy as well as the need for coal in everyday life.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 339.
2. Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 2, p 48.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON BUILDING THE DISTRICT AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT LEVEL: SOME MATTERS CONCERNING BUILDING THE DISTRICT IN LANG SON IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 42-47

[Article La Thang, secretary of the Lang Son Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Lang Son, a mountainous province on our country's northern border, is bordered on the north by Cao Bang Province, on the south by Ha Bac Province, on the west by Bac Thai Province and on the east by our country's Quang Ninh Province and China's Guangxi Province.

Lang Son, which measures more than 8,000 square kilometers, is a rich province with many different types of valuable agricultural products, forest products and minerals.

In our history of resistance against the northern forces of aggression, Lang Son has always been a region that has faced the largest, strongest and most fierce attacks of the enemy.

In the war of aggression against our country in February, 1979, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists used as many as one-third of the forces they had mobilized to attack Lang Son.

Despite the fact that they suffered a tragic defeat in that war, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists did not abandon their intention to commit aggression against our country. Instead, they have been waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against Vietnam. And, Lang Son, which has 22 villages that stretch along 253 kilometers of the border with China, must deal every hour of every day with this treacherous war of sabotage being waged by the enemy.

In recent years, they have employed many very cunning means and methods of sabotage within Lang Son. In conjunction with armed provocation, they have routinely sent commandoes and intelligence agents into our province to commit acts of sabotage and kidnap cadres, military personnel and innocent civilians. They have intensified their spy operations for the purposes of gathering intelligence information, establishing contacts, establishing bases and turning us against one another. They have furiously intensified the

psychological war in a vain attempt to shatter the unity among the ethnic minorities, the unity between the army and civilians and have distorted and attacked the positions and policies of our party and state in order to undermine the revolutionary spirit, thinking, confidence and will of our people, with special efforts directed against the young, against negative minded, dissatisfied cadres and party members. They have also been using merchandise to win over and draw citizens of ours to China and taken steps to establish reactionary political organizations in preparation for opposing us over the long range.

In particular, from 2 April to 25 May of this year, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists conducted a rather large campaign of armed provocation against Lang Son Province, one that extended over a rather large area and was quite long in duration and violent in nature. They fired a total of 20,764 artillery shells of all types, from 82 millimeter mortars to 152 millimeter artillery, at 13 of the 22 border villages, inflicting heavy losses of life and property upon the ethnic minorities of our province.

In view of the situation described above, one urgent requirement that we face in building the district and strengthening the district level in Lang Son is the need to insure that every district is well defended, is politically stable, is developed economically and culturally, has strong people's armed forces and is capable of providing good local rear service support.

Insuring that all districts within the province meet the requirement mentioned above is a difficult and complex job. Although difficult, this job absolutely must be performed, there is no other alternative.

To achieve this objective, the Lang Son Provincial Party Committee has, in its leadership and guidance, given attention to the following several matters of basic importance:

1. Showing the various levels of the party and government, from the provincial to the basic levels, the dialectical relationship that exists in the building of the districts and the strengthening of the district level between the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and being ready to fight and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Although this seems to be a simple matter, such is not the case. Some persons were of the thinking that in a mountain province on the border of the fatherland, a province that faces the enemy daily and is constantly being harassed by the enemy, it is not necessary to invest much in the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism, but that efforts should only be concentrated on building and strengthening the national defense system and defending the border of the fatherland. This misconception was promptly corrected by the provincial party committee. We showed the various levels of the party and government that successfully building socialism and maintaining our readiness to fight and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland are two closely related strategic tasks. Socialist construction must yield practical results so that the entire country as well as every locality and installation becomes stronger in every respect and is, under all circumstances, fully capable of winning victory over each war of aggression of

the enemy and firmly defend the fatherland. Conversely, only by strengthening the country's defenses, defeating the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and insuring that the country is always firmly defended is it possible to provide all the conditions needed to successfully build socialism. Strengthening the national defense system and building the armed forces defending the fatherland in conjunction with increasing the pace of socialist construction are important tasks, tasks that we must not neglect for one moment. This is also the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, which is a mission of profound national and international significance. If there is not a correct understanding of the necessity to closely coordinate these two strategic tasks, of the dialectical relationship between these two tasks, if one task is considered less important than or even contrary to the other or if positive, effective measures are not taken to achieve this coordination, immeasurable harm will result. Under the socialist system, the economy and the national defense system are virtually united as one entity. If the above is correctly understood and if positive, effective measures are taken, the economy and the national defense system, rather than contradicting each other, actually stimulate each other's development.

In Lang Son, facts show that those districts that have come to this correct realization have been less confused about how to build the district and have achieved good results. Trang Dinh District is an example. Trang Dinh is one of the five districts of Lang Son that lie along the border with China. In February, 1979, the district was attacked and ravaged by the Chinese aggressors. However, the Trang Dinh District Party Committee clearly defined what its responsibilities were: to lead the organizing of defenses, the maintenance of combat readiness and highly efficient combat operations to defend the territory of the fatherland and protect the people while stepping up production and developing the economy in order to support the daily lives of the people, give them peace of mind and confidence, give them reason to steadfastly remain at their production jobs, give them a feeling of closeness to their villages and cultivate among them a high sense of responsibility in defending their villages. At the same time, the Trang Dinh District Party Committee made a number of amendments and revisions to the overall socio-economic planning of the district in order to be consistent with the new situation. As a result, for the past several years, Trang Dinh has been a district that has well deployed defenses, a district that is politically stable, a district that has carried out economic and cultural development and has rather strong people's armed forces.

During the fighting that lasted from early April until the end of May, Tran Dinh proved this once again.

2. Establishing the battlefield deployment of the people's war within each district and insuring that defense capabilities are as high as they can possibly be.

Establishing the battlefield deployment of the people's war within the district involves deploying forces in accordance with basic combat plans. This battlefield deployment is based on our political, moral and economic strengths, on the schemes and methods of the enemy, on the forces we are fighting and on the terrain and vegetation of each area. It insures the

people and the armed forces within the district of the ability to fight, carry out production and build and train their forces so that they can fight independently for many days, maintain the sovereignty of the locality and help to maintain the sovereignty of the entire country.

The battlefield deployment of the people's war within the district is formed through the battlefield deployments within each village, factory, enterprises, worksite and forestry site, the battlefield deployment of each interconnected combat cluster, which are tied together in many different lines that are developed in both breadth and depth, thereby enabling their forces to stubbornly hold their positions and help one another defend their area and fight continuously. It also consists of rear bases to enable production to be maintained under all circumstances of war and enable ties with the province and the military region to be maintained.

The establishment of the battlefield deployment of the people's war within the district must also be based on the requirements of war and our capabilities within each area so that suitable methods of fighting can be adopted.

In Lang Son, each district has established combat villages. The militia organization within the combat villages has been divided into three forces, each of which has its own specific mission: the mobile combat force has the mission of conducting mobile combat operations throughout the village's area of operation when fighting breaks out; the village security combat force has the mission of fighting from stationary positions to protect their village; and there is a force to provide security for people temporarily evacuated to the rear. In the villages along the border, in addition to these three forces, every village also has a standing combat militia force.

Combat villages must be built in such a way as to insure that we are always in a position from which we can take the initiative, can maintain normal production, protect the people, maintain political security and social order and safety and immediately go into combat and fight well when the enemy attacks. Therefore, everything that is done, from relocating the population and reorganizing production to reorganizing labor, organizing the life of the people and so forth, must be scientifically planned. All villages in the border districts have organized village rear areas to which the people can be temporarily evacuated when war breaks out before being ordered to withdraw to the next rear line.

Together with building combat villages, we have also been directing the establishment of clusters of combat villages. A cluster of combat villages is based on the geographical proximity and consists of three or four villages. The armed forces within each cluster have the mission of fighting the enemy throughout the cluster of which they are in charge; at the same time, to conduct mobile combat operations or assist other clusters when necessary. Each cluster has a joint command consisting of representatives of the armed forces, the local party committee and the local government. Every cluster has one village that serves as a rear area to which the people of each cluster can be temporarily evacuated in time of war.

Thus, the villages have village safe zones, the clusters have cluster safe zones and the districts have district safe zones. The purposes of organizing combat villages and clusters of combat villages in this way are to insure that we can carry out production well and fight well.

All armed forces within the districts have clearly defined their responsibilities and adopted specific plans for coordinating in combat.

By establishing the battlefield deployment of the people's war within the scope of the district in this way, we are able to maintain control and take the offensive, to take the offensive and maintain control, to fight the enemy while building our forces, to coordinate combat with production.

3. Urgently guiding the districts in the adoption of comprehensive socio-economic planning and sector planning within the district that develop the strengths of the district and are consistent with the present situation.

Comprehensive socio-economic planning and the planning of each sector within the district have truly become a pressing demand in Lang Son. They are a demand faced in economic development and in the strengthening of the national defense system.

Comprehensive planning includes establishing the structure of production and the production guidelines of the district; zoning areas and establishing the production guidelines of each area; defining the socio-economic targets of the district and each area; and defining the measures and the material-technical bases that are needed to achieve these goals. Comprehensive planning is the basis for sector planning and sector planning concretizes comprehensive planning. Only through comprehensive planning is it possible to reorganize production within the district, possible to lay the groundwork for the redistribution of production forces, the reorganization of the sectors and trades, the reallocation of crops and livestock and the construction of material-technical bases. Comprehensive planning also provides the basis for the adoption of good yearly plans, the establishment of the allocation of crops during each season within each area and the adoption of production regulations and technical standards that are suited to each season and each crop, species of livestock...

Because we recognize the importance of comprehensive socio-economic planning within the district and are aware of the specifics involved in this planning, we have given closer guidance to the districts so that they urgently formulate comprehensive socio-economic planning and the planning of each sector within the district.

We have focused our efforts on guiding Trang Dinh District as a pilot project in order to gain experience for guiding the other districts and have begun to achieve good results. Trang Dinh has defined the structure of its district economy as an agricultural-forestry-industrial economy. It has also carried out the zoning of economic areas within the district and established the production guidelines and socio-economic goals of each area. So far, four economic subareas that are closely tied to clusters of combat villages have come into existence in Trang Dinh. The first subarea raises primarily rice

and hogs; the second raises primarily annual industrial crops; the third raises primarily the species of large livestock; and the fourth is primarily engaged in forestry and the production of perennial industrial crops. On the basis of the district's comprehensive planning, the agricultural sector, the forestry sector, industry, the distribution-circulation sector and the cultural-social sector have each adopted planning of their own, planning that is consistent with the new situation and the overall development of the district.

On the basis of the experience gained from Trang Dinh District, we turned our efforts to the two districts of Huu Lung and Cao Loc and then to the districts of Binh Gia, Bac Son, Loc Binh, Chi Lang...

In the formulation of their comprehensive planning, we have required that the districts clearly define their production and business guidelines; the stages and goals of socio-economic development during each period; the zoning to be put in effect within the district; the production guidelines and the socio-economic goals of the district, in general, and of each area, in particular...

Lang Son's guideline is to have all districts within the province soon complete their comprehensive planning as well as the planning of each sector within the district in a manner consistent with the characteristics and situation of a province on the fatherland's border.

4. Building and strengthening the installations so that each truly becomes a unit that produces well and fights well.

In the lowland provinces and districts, this is an important and urgent matter; however, in a mountain province, such as Lang Son, it is a matter of even greater importance and urgency. To build a good district, it is necessary to have solid installations.

In our work of building and strengthening installations, we have had to give special attention to building and strengthening cooperatives and maintaining the socialist production relations in the countryside. Because, we can only talk about reorganizing production, establishing a new division of labor and redistributing the population when cooperatives are well established. Only when cooperatives are well established can we talk about introducing technological advances in production and organizing the material and cultural lives of the people. Only when cooperatives are well established can we talk about building militia forces, preparing defenses, maintaining political security, maintaining social order and safety... In summary, without solid, strong cooperatives, without strengthening socialist production relations, we encounter extremely large difficulties when attempting to perform the jobs mentioned above. The reason why this matter must be raised is because building good installations is very difficult in the mountain provinces due to the objective difficulties these provinces face, such as the decentralization of the population and the fact that the population's political awareness, cultural standards, knowledge of science-technology and so forth are still limited.

In the work of building and strengthening installations, attention must also be given to improving the quality and fighting strength of militia forces because they are a strategic force, an instrument of violent force of the party and government on the basic level. Militia forces play the central role in production, national defense work and security, are the base of the system of collective ownership of the working people, are the school forging the new man at installations.

In conjunction with developing militia forces to the size required by the specific situation of the locality, efforts must be concentrated on improving the quality of militia forces in every respect, especially their political quality. The buildup of the militia must be coordinated with and based on the results of our efforts to build the political base, build basic units that are strong and solid in every respect and must be closely tied to carrying out the three revolutions at installations. In strategically important areas within the districts along the border, efforts must be constantly focused on building militia forces that are truly strong and solid.

At present, within our province, especially in the five border districts from Dinh Lap to Trang Dinh, militia forces have been built up quite well and are strong enough to take the initiative in fighting the enemy in every situation; however, attention must still be given to further improving their quality in order for them to meet the requirements of the new situation.

Another important matter in building and strengthening installations is that of building and strengthening the corps of cadres. The actual experience of Lang Son has shown that the movement develops well at those installations that build a corps of cadres who possess good qualities and are competent. Conversely, at those installations at which the corps of cadres is weak, every aspect of the movement stagnates. Therefore, over the past several years, the provincial party committee has required that districts concentrate their efforts on guiding installations and gradually raise the qualifications of basic level cadres, especially key cadres. The border districts must adopt plans to train the corps of basic level cadres so that they are fully capable of performing their work and plans to protect these cadres from becoming involved with the enemy, from being bought by the enemy, from being physically harmed by the enemy.

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BUILDING THE DISTRICT AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT LEVEL IN THANH HOA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 47-51

[Article Ha Trong Hoa, secretary of the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Efforts That Have Yielded Initial Results

Building the district and strengthening the district level are very new matters to us. The cadres of the various sectors, from the provincial to the district levels, at first did not have a clear picture of many of the specifics involved in building the district and strengthening the district level and everyone's understanding of the matter differed. While performing this work, we have gained experience and held discussions in order to make all key cadres on the provincial and district levels aware of the following facts:

The district is the most suitable and convenient level on which to control and make efficient and effective use of the potentials that lie in the locality's labor, arable land, sectors and trades. The district is the level that directly guides the building of strong and solid installations and provides them with assistance that is consistent with actual circumstances. Therefore, the district must be built and made strong enough to effectively guide and assist installations. The district level is the level that implements the line on coordinating agriculture with industry from the very outset of development and at installations, is the base of efforts to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, is the level that links the state, the collective and the people together.

On the basis of these initial perceptions and in coordination with the pilot project conducted in Tho Xuan District to gain experience, our province expanded the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level to all 23 districts, towns and the city.

Having now spent several years building the districts and strengthening the district level, Thanh Hoa has recorded a number of initial results.

The pilot project district of Tho Xuan, which is the district of the province that has developed the most and has made relatively steady progress, met its main economic targets for the periods from 1976 to 1980 and 1981 to 1983. As

regards the grain program, both Tho Xuan's output and rate of development have been encouraging: total grain output during the period from 1976 to 1980 averaged 51,000 tons per year, an increase of 16.6 percent, and 72,000 tons per year during the period from 1981 to 1983, a 41.3 percent increase over the period from 1971 to 1975 (before the adoption of the policy on building the district and strengthening the district level). Annual grain output per capita reached 306 kilograms during the period from 1976 to 1980, a 12.9 percent increase, and 412 kilograms during the period from 1981 to 1983, a 34.6 percent increase compared to years from 1971 to 1975. The total amount of grain mobilized for the state averaged 7,600 tons per year from 1976 to 1980, a 10 percent increase, and 18,000 tons per year from 1981 to 1983, a 136 percent increase compared to the years from 1971 to 1975. The initial successes in building the district and strengthening the district level in the pilot project district of Tho Xuan enabled us to gain experience and served to persuade the other districts and towns of the province.

To date, all 23 districts and towns and the city of the province have completed their comprehensive socio-economic planning. The province has approved the planning of 15 districts. Although the quality of their planning is still low and does not encompass much, all of the districts and towns have been using this planning as the main tool in the reorganization of their production and the formulation of their yearly plans.

The cadre apparatus of the districts and towns has been further strengthened and its quality has been improved. The province has assigned to the districts and towns some 900 cadres of all types, including 650 cadres who have either a middle school or college education. Some 26.8 percent of the members of the district and town party committees have a college level education in science and technology (versus 17.4 percent during previous terms) and 21.4 percent have a middle level education in science and technology (versus only 19 percent during previous terms). More than 55 percent of district and town party committee members have received middle or high level training in political theory. Some 63.2 percent of the cadres on the agriculture committees of the districts have a college level education, only 24.5 percent are middle level technical cadres.

The economic-technical sectors and the administrative and professional sectors of the province have assigned the districts the responsibility for managing the economic, cultural, educational and public health facilities that directly serve their districts.

The efforts described above have helped the districts and towns of the province grow more rapidly. They now manage all aspects of agricultural production and the mobilization of grain, food products and agricultural products for the state and have taken the initiative in resolving some of the difficulties encountered by the people within their locality in their daily lives. The ability to manage labor on a district-wide basis has had a good impact upon the construction of material-technical base, not only within the scope of the districts and towns, but throughout the province. The new division of labor has been established within the scope of the district. Many districts have upgraded a number of weak and deficient installation party organizations to average or good party organizations. Three of the province's

districts have been awarded the "Solid and Strong Party Organization" Banner by the Party Secretariat: Tho Xuan District in the lowlands, Hoang Hoa District along the seacoast and Quan Hoa District in the high mountains.

Weaknesses and Problems That Must Be Resolved

Establishing a rational agricultural-industrial economic structure is of central importance in building and reorganizing the socio-economic structure in a manner consistent with the characteristics and strengths of each district and town. However, the economic structure of the districts and towns as expressed in their planning still gives very light attention to the position of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades within the district. Many agricultural cooperatives have not established clear guidelines for the development of small industry and the handicraft trades. Even some cooperatives that had previously established a relatively stable organization and division of labor for the trade sector have now abandoned their business in this sector, as a result of which small industry and handicraft production within the agricultural cooperative has withered away. Although importance is attached to agricultural production, attention is only being given to crop production. The production guidelines of the agricultural cooperatives only attach importance to the establishment of a relatively good allocation of crops. Livestock production is still poorly structured and not balanced with crop production. In all the sectors of agricultural production, forestry, fishing and industry within the district and at installations, light attention is given to harvesting and developing the production of export goods. As a result, the export economy in many districts and towns is still very weak.

The socio-economic planning of many districts and towns is still separate from national defense and security planning. From the initial experience gained in building the district military fortress in Quang Xuong, we have come to clearly see the necessity to closely tie the building of the economy to national defense and security. In the district of Quang Xuong, the building of the district military fortress has increased the strength of the national defense system and the people's war by building up local military forces and the militia and self-defense organization, building up public security forces and the people's security organizations to serve as the shock forces that, together with all the people, are determined to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage and war of aggression of the enemy, struggle against negative phenomena, protect production, maintain security and social order and protect the life and property of the people. Many other districts and towns have yet to plan the building of a solid and strong district military fortress. This is a major weakness in the process of building the district and strengthening the district level.

In the work of organizing the management apparatus and formulating cadre planning as well as in a number of other areas of work involved in building the district and strengthening the district level, from planning and adopting specific plans to organizing and guiding their implementation, we are still confused and, in certain areas, still weak. Therefore, we see that there is a need to re-examine and supplement planning, both comprehensive planning as well as the planning of each sector and yearly plans.

This time, in order to supplement the planning that has been adopted to build and organize the socio-economic structure of the districts and towns, we will focus our efforts on developing upon the strengths of each locality.

The lowland districts will concentrate on practicing intensive cultivation, practicing multicropping, building high yield rice growing areas and rapidly developing their hog herds; developing the small industry and handicraft sectors and trades that process agricultural products; and organizing joint businesses in the baking of lime and the production of building materials and in milling and the processing of livestock feed.

The coastal districts will concentrate on reorganizing the fishing and shrimping industry; selectively developing mechanized fishing at sea; developing and making improvements to insure fishing by manual methods; practicing intensive production and raising salt yields; opening new land to rush cultivation and practicing intensive cultivation on rush fields; opening areas for the cultivation of shrimp and brackish water fish; developing the production of crops suited to sandy coastal soil and producing exports, such as peanuts, millet, garlic and so forth; planting beefwood tree shelter belts and planting coconut trees along the seacoast; developing the small industry and handicraft trades, especially the processing of marine products and the sectors and trades that support the marine economy in order to make full use of unemployed labor along the seacoast.

The midland and mountain districts will focus their efforts on developing the forest economy under the guidelines of "coordinating agriculture and forestry," using short-term crops to support the production of long-term crops and having the state, the cooperative and cooperative member families work together in the forest economy; practicing the intensive cultivation of wet rice at places where rice paddies exist; developing the production of subsidiary food crops, grain, hillside peanuts, hillside sugarcane and the various types of medicinal crops; expanding the production of buffalo and cattle; restoring, developing and introducing additional handicraft trades, especially the processing of forestry products and subsidiary food crop processing.

The towns and city will concentrate on planning and organizing the industrial installations; strongly developing small industry and the handicraft trades with a view toward providing jobs to laborers within the towns and city; effectively developing and utilizing the rich sources of raw materials within the province in the production of consumer and export goods; and planning, designing and gradually building public projects and residential areas that are suitable, durable, attractive and advanced in nature.

At the same time, the districts, towns and city must tie national defense and security planning to socio-economic planning. We will guide the districts, towns and city in defining the key points and strategically important areas within each locality in order to outline an economic and national defense strategic deployment; devise plans to combat the wide-ranging war of sabotage and combat the war of aggression of the enemy; plan the buildup of militia and self-defense forces and the people's public security forces and the organizing of reserve forces; build the communications system in a manner that

coordinates the economy and national defense system; and establish programs to provide training and conduct combat exercises at installations and within each interconnected cluster of combat villages.

With regard to building material-technical bases at installations and within the district, our efforts in the immediate future will be focused on the three most important aspects of agricultural production: providing seed for the various types of crops and breeding stock for livestock production; providing water and fertilizer for crops and feed for livestock; and preventing and controlling pests and diseases of crops and livestock epidemics. In small industry and the handicraft trades, efforts will focus on improving and updating the production tools of production installations; establishing industrial standards for the production of the various types of goods by advanced methods; and improving the manual skills and occupational qualifications of laborers.

We will build economic-technical clusters that are closely tied to the interconnected clusters of combat villages with a view toward establishing ties between the state-operated economy and the collective and household economies; organizing joint businesses in one or many products among the cooperatives within an area; coordinating production and the protection of production at installations; laying the groundwork for closely tying agriculture to industry, gradually upgrading agriculture to large-scale socialist production and building the new, socialist countryside.

Establishing targets on population growth and establishing the new division of labor have become pressing and urgent tasks. Beginning immediately, the districts, towns and city must strictly adhere to two basic guidelines: first, finding adequate work for local laborers and sending displaced labor to build new economic zones; secondly, taking all available planned parenthood measures in order to reduce the rate of population growth, a rate that has been too high for many years.

As regards the division of labor and management responsibilities between the sectors on the provincial level and the sectors on the district level, there are, in our province, two important mistakes that are being made: the sectors on the provincial level generally hesitate and waver when it comes to assigning management responsibilities to the district, and even impede the assignment of management responsibilities to the district, because they lack confidence in the district level and because they have calculated what they will lose by way of authority and partial interests. When the assignment of management responsibilities was completed, they left everything up to the districts and abandoned their responsibility to provide management by sector from the provincial to the district and basic levels. On the other hand, the district level has generally taken a subjective, simplistic approach, shown concern only for local interests, displayed a lack of respect for the vertical sector, sometimes made arbitrary decisions that violate the regulations and policies on economic and financial matters, on the organization of personnel, etc. We have harshly criticized and taken determined steps to correct these aberrations. What is important now is for us to continue to give the leaders of the sectors on the provincial and district levels a thorough understanding of the principle of closely coordinating management by sector with management

by locality and area, the objective of which is to achieve economic efficiency, in order to promote the assignment of management responsibilities to the district.

The installation is the base and the place where the specific jobs involved in implementing the program on building the district and strengthening the district level are performed each day. Therefore, we always attach importance to building and strengthening the production, business and service installations of the state and collectives. At present, we are promoting an effort to solidify and strengthen the agricultural cooperatives, the immediate focus of which is the rectification of mistakes made under the agricultural product contracts. We will combat the use of non-specific contracts at agricultural cooperatives, which weaken the collective economy. We will develop the villages and subwards into units that are safe and victorious. We will develop for the mass organizations, such as the Trade Union, the Women's Union, the Association of Collective Farmers and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, at installations a program of effective activities designed to mobilize the masses to enthusiastically implement the positions, policies and resolutions of the party and laws of the state, mold the new man and establish the new lifestyle in the country. We will uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people in a manner closely tied to building solid and strong basic party organizations by increasing their fighting strength and their ability to lead the implementation of socio-economic, national defense and security planning and plans within the locality.

In order for installations to be solid and strong, we must establish a solid and strong corps of key cadres. In the months ahead, we will select and train, on the basis of the planning that has been carried out, key cadres for six positions on the basic level; party committee secretaries, village people's committee chairmen, cooperative directors, village military unit leaders, village public security chiefs and Youth Union secretaries. Training will be provided to give the key cadres at installations a full understanding of their duties and tasks, their authority and their work regulations so that they are fully capable of managing socio-economic activities, order and security, providing for the daily needs of the people and building installations that are truly solid and strong. Only when there are many solid and strong installations within the district and not one weak installation can the district become solid and strong.

Between now and 1985, Thanh Hoa is determined to make its 23 districts, towns and the city solid and strong and develop the movement in a manner commensurate with the abundant capabilities of the locality, in a manner that meets the requirements of the country's revolutionary tasks.

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REORGANIZING PRODUCTION AND REDISTRIBUTING LABOR WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 51-56, 67

[Article by Phan Thanh Phong, secretary of the Ben Luc District Party Committee]

[Text] Ben Luc is a district in Long An Province that has the capabilities needed to develop a full-scale agriculture. The entire district is divided into two specialized farming areas: a rice growing area and an area that raises annual industrial crops and fruit.

Due to the resettlement policy carried out by the enemy during the years of the war, the largest difficulty now faced by Ben Luc is the uneven distribution of its population and labor. The villages that lie in the southern portion of the district on either side of National Highway Number 1 and the areas around the town are densely populated, having less than 1,000 square meters of land per capita, with one village having only 600 square meters. The villages in the northern portion of the district are sparsely populated and have nearly 4,000 square meters of land per capita. Not much of the 5,000 hectares of wilderness that can be used to raise crops has been cleared. Within agricultural production, the district is still engaged in the monoculture of rice and balance has not been established between crop production and livestock production, consequently, labor productivity is not high. The average number of days worked by an agricultural laborer within the rice growing area ranges from 140 to 150 days per year. Importance has not been attached to building and developing the trade sectors. The standard of living of the working people has not been raised and a portion of the labor force is not being fully utilized.

The district's largest difficulty in agricultural production is the shortage of fresh water. The southern villages of the district are the rice growing area but the soil there is polluted with salt. In the northern portion of the district, the soil has been polluted with sulfates for many years.

On the basis of these characteristics, the 3rd Congress of our district party organization established the main guidelines for the development of the district as tying the reorganization of production to the redistribution of labor within the district in order to develop the agricultural strengths of

the district, namely, grain production, the production of annual industrial crops and fruit production, by means of practicing intensive cultivation on all farmland and expanding the amount of area under cultivation by clearing land. At the same time, we must develop our livestock production, develop the small industry and handicraft installations and open many sectors and trades in order to provide jobs to the people. We have conducted basic investigations of the district's arable land, labor, crops, livestock, material bases, sectors, trades, customs, habits and production conditions in order to establish an allocation of crops and livestock species suited to each area. In accordance with the district's comprehensive planning and on the basis of the management responsibilities assigned by the province, we plan to establish three economic-technical clusters within the two production areas.

In recent years, especially since the start of 1983, in order to implement the above guidelines, we have been reorganizing production and redistributing labor within the district in the following ways:

In the rice growing area, which consists of the nine villages in the southern portion of the district and some of the district's northern villages and measures 10,511 hectares, which include a high yield rice growing area of 5,127 hectares, we have concentrated on building water conservancy projects to retain fresh water and block the flow of salt water, building a dike system along the Ben Luc River and improving the network of irrigation and drainage canals and ditches within fields, as a result of which the amount of area under cultivation has been increased by more than 2,000 hectares. In an effort to promote intensive cultivation, we have begun using new, high yield varieties that are resistant to pests and diseases and discontinued the use of low yield varieties that had degraded (from the original 45 varieties, 16 good varieties were selected and are now being used). In addition, the district has established a district rice seed production area and every village has organized the selection of new rice varieties. A movement has been launched to supply organic fertilizer in the form of livestock manure, green manure, human wastes, rice straw and pond mud, which are combined at the proper nitrogen-phosphorus-potash ratio with inorganic fertilizer and applied at the rate of 1 to 2 tons per hectare under cultivation. In the key, high yield rice areas, the fertilizer application rate is higher. Draft power within our district is well organized and managed. In 1983 and during the summer-fall season of this year, as a result of combining and efficiently utilizing the three sources of draft power within the district (the district tractor station, the tractors provided by the provincial tractor branch and the buffalo and cattle within the district), we prepared fields properly, on schedule and in less time than in previous years. The techniques of dry land plowing, direct sowing in dry ground and covering seeds by harrowing fields have been applied in main crop production. The techniques of chopping the soil into small pieces and transplanting rice at high densities have been widely applied in 10th month and winter-spring production.

In conjunction with the technical measures described above, we have intensified the building of the crop protection network, supplied pest control equipment to production units and trained technicians to share duty with the cadres of the district crop protection station so that someone is always present in fields. Since the successful pilot project in the signing of "rice

pest and disease prevention and control" insurance contracts in 1983, we have expanded the use of this form of insurance and promptly treated and wiped out pockets of pests and diseases, thereby saving a considerable amount of pesticide and generating confidence among the masses.

Chiefly as a result of taking the measures mentioned above, rice yield and output have risen with each year. The average rice yield within the high yield rice growing area rose from 7.5 tons per hectare in 1982 to 8.4 tons per hectare in 1983, with some solidarity teams and production collectives recording yields from 9 to 10 tons per hectare. During the 1983 10th month rice season, a yield of 3 tons per hectare was recorded (versus 2.2 tons in 1982). The two crop rice growing area of the district has joined the 8-10 tons club. The Long An Provincial People's Committee has recognized Ben Luc as the district with the highest rice yield in the province. In 1983, the district's per capita grain output reached 589 kilograms. Our district has fulfilled its grain obligations to the state. The district mobilized 12,400 tons during the 1983 10th month season and nearly 8,000 tons during the 1984 winter-spring season, which included 100 percent of the taxes due and 100 percent of the paddy due under two-way contracts (with supplies provided in advance). Livestock production is also developing. In 1983, the hog herd increased by 21 percent, the duck flock nearly doubled and the number of draft buffalo and cattle increased by 20 percent compared to 1982.

In the area that raises annual industrial and fruit crops, which is an area of newly opened land and fields that have been restored to production since liberation day, we have brought in labor from throughout the district and received investments from the state to build water conservancy projects in order to alleviate waterlogging and leach sulfate deposits from the soil, build a network of roads and gradually bring about changes in production within this area. The crops suited to this area are mainly sugarcane, pineapples, arjun trees, cajuput, cashews...

The people of this area have long had the habit of raising these crops. In 1982, this area raised 2,534 hectares of pineapples, 2,100 hectares of sugarcane and 102 hectares of rushes. In addition, 600 hectares of cassava were raised as companion crops. This area still has about 5,000 hectares of wilderness concentrated around Ba Vu and to the west of the two village of Thanh Hoa and Thanh Loi.

Ben Luc's target is to clear about 3,000 hectares by 1985, 1,500 hectares of which is being cleared by the three state farms of the province and the remainder of which is being cleared by the district by bringing labor up from its southern villages. In 1983, we increased the cultivation of sugarcane to 2,624 hectares, an increase of 524 hectares over 1982; increased the production of pineapples to 2,264 hectares, a 130 hectare increase; and increased the cultivation of cashews to 10 hectares. Thus, in the area being cleared, we have opened nearly 700 hectares, thus meeting 50 percent of our plan. The district has the labor needed to increase the rate at which land is being cleared but because the investments made by the various sectors have not been well coordinated, the established target has still not been met. At present, our district is only capable of a partial investment in sugarcane production; meanwhile, appropriate investments have yet to be made in the

production of pineapples, which are the crop best suited to the land being opened.

In the spirit of self-reliance and under the guideline of the state and the people working together, our district party committee is determined to successfully implement the resolution of the 3rd Congress of the District Party Organization on mobilizing labor to clear land and build water conservancy projects. To date, we have virtually completed the network of canals and ditches, thereby laying a good base for sending surplus labor up from the southern villages to carry out production. So far, more than 200 families that had no land or lacked land have been moved up to this area to harvest and plant more than 200 hectares of sugarcane and pineapples. We are continuing to encourage the cooperatives and production collectives in the southern villages to send persons into this area to establish second installations. To date, three cooperatives and 42 collectives have sent nearly 1,000 laborers to build area and plot embankments, dig canals and ditches within fields and clear 1,150 hectares of land to put into production next season.

We have also planned 500 hectares for the planting of cajuput trees for the production of essential oil and 500 hectares of natural arjun trees for the production of raw material used in the production of bags and mattresses, planned an increase in rush cultivation from 102 to 300 hectares in order to provide raw material for the weaving of mats for domestic consumption and exportation and set aside 400 hectares for the planting of cashews. To provide additional raw materials for industry, we planted coconut trees, tre and truc bamboo, eucalyptus trees, sesbania grandiflora...along canal embankments.

During the past several years, we have linked the reorganization of production and the redistribution of labor to the acceleration of the agricultural cooperativization movement. In the redistribution of cropland, we have maintained that this redistribution must be carried out from the perspective of the district as a whole in order to fully develop the potentials that lie in the district's labor and arable land. Were we to redistribute cropland only within the scope of each village, fields would be chopped up and large-scale production would be impossible to achieve. On the basis of land use and labor planning, our district party committee has adopted the policy of building the cooperativization movement while sending surplus labor from the southern villages to the villages in the northern portion of the district in order to expand the amount of area under cultivation and steadily develop production. This is the focal point of our guidance. On this basis, we have defined forms of organization and stages that range from a low to an increasingly high level and attached full importance to the economic-technical plans of the cooperatives, production collectives and production solidarity teams and to the introduction of scientific and technological advances in production.

By 1982, we had abolished the remaining exploitation by wealthy farmers and rural bourgeoisie and completed the redistribution of the cropland of the upper strata of middle farmers within the rice growing area and two villages within the area that raises annual industrial crops. Three villages are

continuing to carry out the redistribution of cropland in a manner closely tied to relocating the population and redistributing labor. To date, the district has established three cooperatives and 150 production collectives, 62 of which specialize in sugarcane production; 54.5 percent of households and farmland have been brought into collective production. Five villages and one town have virtually completed agricultural cooperativization. At present, our district still has 139 production solidarity units that are in the practical training stage of development, more than one-half of which are good units capable of becoming production collectives during the next winter-spring season.

Over a period of many production seasons, the cooperatives and production collectives of the districts have gradually reorganized their labor and opened sectors and trades, especially such handicraft sectors as the weaving of mats, bags and mattresses, the production of bamboo shades and the production of "cat ear" mushrooms and Volvaria volvacea and expanded the raising of hogs and ducks. Each cooperative and collective formulates its production plan from the basic level upward, controls and balances its supplies through two-way contracts with production units under which they are supplied with materials in advance, manages and distributes draft power, has given technical cadres the assignment of keeping abreast of developments in fields and has implemented the product contract policy, as a result of which they have gradually developed production, stabilized and improved the living conditions of their members, gradually accumulated capital and steadily expanded the material bases of the collective.

The most recent change that has occurred at the production collectives and cooperatives is that they now know the precise makeup of their labor force and uphold the right of ownership of cooperative and collective members in selecting and distributing labor to go build second installations in the district's northern area. Those who remain behind perform the work of those who leave and those who leave go with peace of mind because a policy has been adopted to include them in distribution. Every village, cooperative and production collective has sent competent cadres to take charge of this work, consequently, relatively good results have been achieved. At present, we are inspecting and adopting plans to improve the capabilities of those solidarity units that are still weak, strengthen newly organized production collectives and correct the mistakes that have been made within some production collectives.

We have also attached importance to tying agricultural transformation to the transformation of private commerce and the establishment of the socialist commerce network in the countryside. The marketing cooperatives have gradually been strengthened along with the cooperatives and agricultural production collectives. All cooperative and collective members are members of marketing cooperatives. Marketing cooperative counters have been set up within each hamlet to sell industrial goods to the people and buy local agricultural products. Many marketing cooperatives have been successfully performing their task as procurement agents for state-operated commerce and supplying agricultural materials and collecting products under two-way contracts. As a result of the marketing cooperatives establishing bonuses for production collectives and agricultural cooperatives, the volume of

agricultural products mobilized has increased with each year. All marketing cooperatives control the majority of important products, such as grain, cane sugar and rush mats. All villages within the district now have a credit cooperative. The credit cooperatives have provided the marketing cooperatives and agricultural production collectives with some capital with which to develop their production and business and provided cooperative and collective members with loans with which to develop the household economy. By taking measures to improve their management and by supplying materials in advance, the marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives have helped to stimulate production, curb the practice of making high interest loans and gradually remove private merchants from the rural market. These forms of collective organizations have spurred one another's development and resulted in the constant expansion and strengthening of the new production relations. The state is procuring many more agricultural products than previously. The living conditions of the people are constantly being improved and the appearance of the countryside is changing more with each passing day.

In the process of reorganizing production and redistributing labor, our district has made an effort to gradually establish an agro-industrial economic structure at installations. We have built up industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, mainly to support agricultural production (such as the production of hand farm implements, the repair of agricultural machinery...), the processing of agricultural products (such as the milling of rice, the pressing of sugarcane, the making of sugar by the centrifuge method...), the production of building materials and the production of consumer goods for the people within the district and for exportation. At present, the district is directly managing five state-operated enterprises, two cooperatives and 19 production cooperative teams and 124 private production installations have been transformed as joint businesses working under contract to the state. In addition, there are enterprises of the province located within the district. State-operated forces undertake the entire milling of lumber and the majority of the manual processing of sugar and the processing of crystallized sugar. This year, we procured practically all of the sugarcane produced within the locality: 104,600 tons of the 110,000 tons produced. At present, the sugar enterprise of the central level (the Hiep Hoa Enterprise) is unable to take all the sugarcane for which it contracted and has only accepted 45,400 tons for processing; the remainder must be processed and delivered to the central level by our locality.

The production of the cooperatives and cooperative teams as well as the other production installations within the district is very large and diverse. They produce many products for agricultural production, for local consumption, for contribution to the state and for exportation.

The agricultural product processing group consists of 84 mills with 43 sugar vats, including three enterprises that process livestock feed, fish sauce and soy sauce, make cakes and candies, produce soap, etc. In addition, there is also a number of sawmills that make boats and launches, tables and chairs, student desk sets, etc.

The machine and repair group has the ability to produce such hand farm implements as hoes, scythes, plow shares and so forth as well as such improved

tools as rush splitters and jute splitters and splicers for the weaving of mats and can perform medium repair work on the various types of automobile and agricultural tractors.

The handicraft production group has developed strongly, especially the production of mats, jute rugs, bags, mattresses and bamboo shades for domestic consumption and exportation. In 1983, the district exported products worth 13.3 million dong, 33 percent more than planned, 50 percent of which was small industry and handicraft products. Since 1983, we have provided jobs for more than 2,000 laborers, mainly in the production of mats and bamboo shades for exportation. The majority of these persons formerly earned their living by buying and selling products banned by the state, by buying products at one end of the market and selling them at the other, thereby disrupting the market.

In 1982, the value of industrial, small industry and handicraft output reached 6,569,000 dong; in 1983, it rose to 11,900,000 dong, 34 percent more than planned (calculated at 1970 fixed prices). During the first 6 months of 1984, 50.69 percent of the plan for the entire year was completed.

At present, we are putting party members in direct charge of the units of the collective economy in agricultural, small industry and handicraft production. At those places that do not yet have party members, we are establishing loyalty teams to serve as the nucleus in preparation for establishing a party organization. We are also giving attention to building and strengthening such organizations as the Association of Collective Farmers, the Women's Union, the Youth Union, the militia and self-defense forces and the People's Security Forces within each collective and production solidarity unit in order to guarantee that the working people's right of collective ownership is upheld in every area.

Our district party committee has asserted that the efforts described above only represent initial efforts and the results achieved are still low compared to the potentials of the district: the development of agriculture is not balanced, especially between livestock production and crop production, and industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, although they have made efforts to move forward, are not utilizing their full capabilities in order to strongly develop the processing of agricultural products, especially sugarcane and pineapples, as a result of which efforts to expand sugarcane and pineapple growing areas have been affected. Much potential still lies in the land in the district's northern portion; however, our efforts to redistribute labor and part of the population in order to develop this potential are still weak. Labor productivity within agriculture, small industry and the handicraft trades is, generally speaking, not high and there is still much labor that is not being utilized. The strong attraction of the external market continues to thwart our attempts to control agricultural products, such as grain and hogs, through procurements. Because prices are still irrational in some respects, we continue to encounter many difficulties and complex problems in mobilizing local goods.

In order to develop the district's potentials well, our district must receive state investments in the area that raises annual industrial crops, such as

sugarcane and, in particular, pineapples, and receive assistance in establishing better conditions for sending more of the rather large amount of surplus labor that our district still has to open more land in the area of acidic, sulfate soil that still lies in wilderness. Our district also needs help with capital, materials and spare parts from the state to enable its small industry and handicraft installations to develop their production and establish a complete agro-industrial economic structure within the district at an early date.

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CSO: 4210/3

READERS' OPINIONS: THE "THREE INTERESTS"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 p 57

[Article by Vu Khanh, Kien An City, Haiphong]

[Text] Recently, frequent mention has been made both in the press and on radio about the three interests, the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer.

It is indeed sad that the "three interests" have become a phrase used by some persons to defend their negative, brazen actions.

Some bus drivers line up their riders and demand that they pay 5 to 10 times the stipulated price, explaining: "Now, folks, this is just to 'balance the three interests'"!

Some doctors working at hospitals ask the relatives of gravely ill patients to "improve my own health" with gifts of thousands of dong under the pretext of "balancing the three interests"!

Some cadres, manual workers and civil servants arrive at work late and leave early, again to "balance the three interests"!

Some agencies and enterprises use money and supplies in ways that violate principles and regulations, also on the pretext of "balancing the three interests"!

In socialist society, a society in which all property of the state is owned by all the people, the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer are truly inseparably tied to one another. Every productive act, even the smallest, benefits the state, the collective and oneself or one's family.

The factory worker who does high quality work and achieves high productivity benefits the state, the factory and himself. If this worker finds another legitimate source of income to improve his family's life, he also benefits society.

The farmer who works hard on the land of his cooperative or his family's plot to achieve a high yield benefits the state, the cooperative and his family.

Even children who study diligently and help their parents catch shrimp and fish benefit society, not just their families.

Therefore, to my way of thinking, the positions, policies and lines of the party and state must make "working to the benefit of both country and family" part of the thinking and actions of each citizen.

"Working to the benefit of both country and family," this way of thinking and acting is a fine tradition of the nation; at the same time, it is consistent with the principle of socialist life of "one for all, all for one."

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THE VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST STATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 58-63

[Article by Phan Hien on the occasion of Soviet Constitution Day, 7 October]

[Text] Part I

Through the very profound revolutionary changes that have taken place since the great October Revolution, the land of Lenin has recorded socio-economic achievements that are unprecedented in the history of man. The Soviet state's promulgation of the 1918, 1924, 1936 and 1977 Constitutions, which have been closely associated with these changes and achievements and consistent with the various stages in the development of the history of the Soviet Union and the socialist system that came into being following World War II, consistent with the balance of power between the two world political-economic systems during each period, marked events of national importance as well as very great international importance.

In January, 1918, only 2 months after the victory of the October Revolution, the 3rd All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted a resolution on making preparations to draft the Constitution of the Union of Russian Socialist Republics. V.I. Lenin played the decisive role in the drafting of this first soviet constitution. At the 5th All-Russia Congress of Soviets, during the final session held on 10 July 1918, the Constitution of the Union of Russian Socialist Republics was unanimously ratified.

The 1918 Constitution of the Union of Russian Socialist Republics was the Constitution of the first soviet state in the world. It confirmed the gains that had been made by the laboring masses of Russia in their struggle, consolidated the victory of the October Revolution and reflected the first experiences in soviet government. The first part of the Constitution, which began with the "Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Oppressed People," defined the basic matters in the nature of principles in the organizing of the proletarian dictatorship state, the government of the laboring people, the government led by the working class. It defined the highest principle of the proletarian dictatorship as establishing the alliance of workers and peasants, an alliance that has the task of abolishing the

exploitation of man by man and the division of society into opposing classes. The Constitution stated: "All power must and can only belong to the laboring masses and the representatives of all their rights, the soviets of worker, soldier and peasant deputies."

The Constitution stated that the basic instruments of production (land, forests, water, factories, mines and so forth) belong to the laboring people, confirmed the fact that the Union of Russian Socialist Republics was "based on the free alliance of free nations" and established the principle of equality for all and ethnic and racial discrimination toward none. It can be said that the 1918 Constitution was the banner under which the Russian laboring people struggled. It consolidated the soviet government, guaranteed victory in the struggle against domestic and foreign enemies and gradually changed the national economy toward socialism.

Through the turbulence of the civil war and the war of aggression unleashed by the imperialist countries, which was brought to a victorious conclusion by the Red Army, the history of the Russian Revolution advanced by large strides in a brief span of time. In 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established. On 31 January 1924, the new Constitution was ratified by the 2nd All-Union Congress of Soviets. The 1924 Constitution was the second soviet constitution and the first constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Continuing in the tradition of the 1918 Constitution, this Constitution confirmed the principle that the republics voluntarily join and are free to secede from the union, the principle of the equality of all of the republics within the union and the principle of state assistance to underdeveloped areas.

It can be said that this was the first constitution in the world to guarantee the rights of nations to freedom, equality and voluntary participation in socialist construction within the framework of a common union. It opened the way for the establishment of a new division of social labor and the joint development and use of the natural resources of the vast Soviet Union.

Under the 1924 Constitution, the economic, political and social life of the Soviet Union underwent profound changes in the space of less than one decade. At the 7th All-Union Congress (extraordinary) of Soviets (25 November 1936), Stalin reported that the major portion of socialism had been achieved. Whereas, in 1924, the national economy, with its backward material-technical bases, was still far from achieving pre-war production levels, by 1936, the national economy had become a tremendous economic force based on new and modern technology. Capitalism had been eliminated. Socialist ownership of the instruments of production had become the solid base of soviet society. The class structure within society consisted of only two classes, the working class and peasants, and the stratum of intellectuals. These classes and this stratum had been entirely freed from exploitation and were the masters of society. The relations among the nations of the entire union had become close, solid and lasting fraternal relations.

On 5 December 1936, on the basis of the achievements that had been recorded, the 8th All-Union Congress of Soviets decided to ratify the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (which was subsequently revised and amended by the 4th Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union during its 26 December 1955 session). The 1936 Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics defined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics state as the socialist state of the working class and peasants, in which the authority to lead society politically and the right of dictatorship belongs to the working class. Recorded in that Constitution were matters in the nature of principles that characterize socialism, such as socialist ownership of the means of production, organizing the state on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, etc. It can be said that the 1936 Constitution served as the model of the Constitutions of the socialist countries that would come into existence later.

The 1936 Constitution created the conditions for increasing the strength of the Soviet Union and led to the brilliant feats of arms and the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the great war of national defense, which created favorable circumstances for the development of the forces of socialism and the formation of the world socialist system and contributed to the expansion of the national liberation movement and the strengthening of peace on the planet.

Forty years after the adoption of the 1936 Constitution, the alliance among the working class, collective farmers and the stratum of people's intellectuals and the unity and friendship among the nations within the Soviet Union had been solidified. The political and ideological consensus among the people, among whom the working class is the dominant force, had been strengthened. Production forces had been developed, culture and science had developed and the socialist production relations had been solidly established. With the expansion of socialist democracy, the people were increasingly participating in the management of the state.

In the face of the new developments in the country's situation, the 9th Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union adopted the 1977 Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 7 October 1977 during its seventh session (extraordinary). Incorporating and developing upon the thinking and principles of the 1918 Constitution, the 1924 Constitution and the 1936 Constitution, this Constitution stipulates the principles involved in building the state and society against the background of building the material-technical bases of communism.

In Part I, the 1977 Constitution stated that "the base of the social system and the political base of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" consist of: the political system, the economic system, social and cultural development, foreign policy and the defense of the socialist fatherland. The Constitution views the provisions regarding the equality of all citizens, the fundamental rights, the freedoms and the obligations of the citizen as matters that pertain to the relations between "the state and the individual." Therefore, the 1977 Constitution stands as eloquent proof of the existence of socialist democracy and refutes every absurd argument of the imperialists about "human rights" not being respected in the socialist countries. It also expresses the

clear desire for peaceful coexistence among countries that have different social systems; on the other hand, it stresses the need to defend the socialist fatherland, viewing this as "the most important function of the state, the undertaking of all the people."

Part II

The soviet constitutions that have come into existence since the October Revolution have provided much by way of valuable experience in drafting the constitutions of the socialist countries and made fundamental and important contributions to the body of theory on the law of the socialist state.

Clearly, the soviet constitutions are brilliant expressions of the beautiful nature and superior qualities of the socialist system, are an acknowledgement in the form of a law of all that has been considered to be the principles, ideals and dreams of the laboring people for countless centuries. In these constitutions, we see lofty goals for which countless soldiers have died and countless scholars have dedicated their efforts to discussing how to achieve, the goals of freedom, equality, democracy, social justice...

Here, freedom is first and foremost the freedom of the working class and the class of farmers, of the once oppressed and exploited laboring people who have now reorganized themselves and established their own state; is "the free union of free nations" reorganized into the Soviet Union; is the freedom of citizens who select delegates to the Soviets in order to achieve the aspirations, implement the will and exercise the power of the people. Here, the fundamental rights of freedom of the citizen (the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to associate and hold meetings...), the right of citizens to be secure in their persons, houses, effects, correspondence and so forth are guaranteed.

"Equality is an absolute law"(the 1936 Constitution); is the basic right of each citizen in each field of life; is the equality of the republics within the Soviet Union, equality in terms of both their sovereignty and legislative powers. Every obstruction of these rights of any kind and all attempts to spread racial and ethnic discrimination are punishable under the law. For the first time in the history of mankind, women enjoy equal rights with men in all fields.

As Lenin said, this is true democracy, is a democratic system that is millions of times better than bourgeois democracy. All power belongs to the people. The citizen enjoys every right: the right to vote and be a candidate for election, the right to work, the right to rest, the right to an education, the right to a place to live, the right to lodge complaints, take legal action, etc. The exercise of these rights is guaranteed through policies, regulations and measures stated within the Constitution itself. Of course, the citizen must also fulfill a number of obligations, such as the obligation to work, the obligation to study, the military obligation, the obligation to respect the Constitution and law...

The soviet constitutions acknowledge: the rights of genuine freedom, equality and democracy belong to the laboring people, to those who create material and

spiritual wealth for society, who build and defend the socialist fatherland. This is a concrete expression, the fullest possible expression of social justice. In this socialist country, the quantity and quality of work performed are considered the basis, the measurement of what one receives: those who perform much work receive much; those who perform little work receive little; and those who exploit others, who live as parasites upon others and do not work receive nothing.

Before the soviet state was born, how to build a just society in which there is no oppression or exploitation, in which everyone is equal, free and happy was still nothing more than a subject of debate. It is the soviet constitutions that have provided a clear answer to this question by advancing the basic, consistent principles of the socialist system, be its level of development low or high.

This is the establishment of the socialist state of the laboring people led by the working class. This state performs the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship: building the new society on the basis of abolishing the exploiting classes, carrying out the struggle between the two paths and achieving total and permanent victory for socialism. This state is based on the alliance of workers and farmers. Moreover, even when socialist construction has been virtually completed, this state continues to be "the socialist state of workers and farmers"(the 1936 Constitution).

Within socialist society, all power belongs to the people. The people exercise this power through the Councils (Soviets of People's Deputies) the political base of the new state. These Councils elect the executive-administrative committees and judges and supervise their activities. These committees and judges are responsible to the Councils of People's Deputies. The deputies of the people's councils and the cadres elected by these Councils can be removed from office if they fail to retain the trust of the electorate or these Councils.

The socialist state is organized and operates on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, a principle that combines broadening the practice of socialist democracy and tapping the initiative and creativity of the localities, installations and masses with strengthening the unified guidance provided by the central level.

Socialist ownership of the means of production in its two different forms--national and collective--is the foundation of the economic system within socialist society, is the necessary prerequisite to insuring the permanent abolition of the exploitation of man by man. This ownership is sacred, is inviolable. The state protects and continuously strengthens and develops this ownership.

The highest objective of socialist production is to meet the rising material and cultural needs of the people as fully as possible by developing and improving production on the basis of solidifying the socialist production relations and stimulating the advance of science and technology, thereby insuring increases in labor productivity, the quality of work and production efficiency.

The guidance of the economy must be carried out in accordance with the state plan for socio-economic development. The state plans are formulated and implemented in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

To work is an honor, is the right and obligation of the citizen. Here, the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor" is the fairest and most rational principle of distribution that can exist under the conditions of socialism.

While acknowledging the basic principles mentioned above, principles that are consistent with the views and thinking of Marxism-Leninism and insure the successful construction of socialist society, the soviet constitutions have reflected the path of developing socialist society on an increasingly high level.

Whereas during the initial period following the October Revolution, because the exploiting classes had not been totally defeated, the 1918 Constitution of the Union of Russian Socialist Republics curbed democratic rights to some extent. In 1936, when the major portion of socialism had been achieved, it was not necessary for the new Constitution to impose such limitations.

On the basis of the level of socio-economic development and the sense of organization and discipline as well as the awareness of the laboring people, the 1977 Constitution recognizes many more democratic rights than the 1936 Constitution did, rights that are guaranteed by specific socio-economic conditions. At the same time, this Constitution defines in greater detail the functions, tasks and activities of the agencies that stand watch over the system of law (the courts, arbitration councils and prosecutors offices) when developed socialist society has been established and it is necessary to "balance the rights and true freedom of citizens with their obligations and responsibilities to society"(preface to the 1977 Constitution).

Of special importance is the fact that, 60 years after the victory of the October Revolution, the 1977 Constitution presents a clearer picture of the path to be taken to communism and the capabilities that exist for achieving communism in the Soviet Union. The Constitution states: "The state assists the development of state farm-cooperative ownership and brings it closer to state ownership." "The state helps to strengthen the social uniformity of society; abolish class differences, the principal differences between the cities and the countryside, between mental labor and manual labor..." At the same time, the Constitution emphasizes the need to further broaden the practice of socialist democracy and increase the role played by the labor collectives and all the people in deciding the work of the state and society.

Part III

The soviet constitutions have marked the stages that have been experienced in building and developing socialist society and codified the guidelines, tasks and measures that are in the nature of laws governing socialist construction. It can be said that these Constitutions have been models for our country and the other fraternal socialist countries. The current Constitutions of the other socialist countries express the basic, unchanging principles of the

socialist system that have been acknowledged by the soviet constitutions. As a result of the valuable experience provided by the soviet constitutions, many profound and creative provisions have been incorporated in the Constitutions of the fraternal socialist countries with a view toward building the socialist state in a manner consistent with the level of socio-economic development of each country.

Our country has experienced three periods of development since the August Revolution. In response to these three different periods, our state has promulgated three Constitutions.

The 1946 Constitution, which laid the legal foundation for the building of a democratic state, had the task of carrying out the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and reflected the basic views of Marxism-Leninism concerning the revolutionary state. The 1959 Constitution, the socialist Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, had the task of building the material-technical bases of socialism in the North following the earth-shattering victory of Dien Bien Phu and the total liberation of one-half of the country. During the first meeting of the Committee To Revise the Constitution held on 27 February 1957, President Ho instructed that the following steps must be taken in drafting this Constitution: "We must fully study our country's situation, restudy the 1946 Constitution and examine some of the model Constitutions of our friends and a number of capitalist countries."(1) Our main piece of reference material at that time was the 1936 Soviet Constitution (that was revised and amended in 1955).

With the historic victory of the spring of 1975 and the reunification of the country in 1976, our party and state decided to draft the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This is the Constitution of the period of transition to socialism throughout the country. When drafting this Constitution, we examined the 1977 Soviet Constitution and the Constitutions of many other fraternal socialist countries. Although it reflects a higher level of political and socio-economic development than exists in our country, the 1977 Soviet Constitution was a valuable reference document to us.

In the congratulatory message sent to the leaders of the Soviet party and state on 9 October 1977 on the occasion of the ratification of the 1977 Constitution by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, the leaders of our party and state said:

"As the successor to the previous Constitutions of the Soviet Union, this new Constitution reflects the profound changes that have occurred in Soviet society over the past several decades; at the same time, it outlines the basic features of a developed socialist society that is advancing to communism. This important document is eloquent proof of the superior nature of the socialist system and socialist democracy, the highest form of democracy of the working class and laboring people at this time."

The new Constitution that was recently ratified by the Supreme Soviet represents a brilliant victory for the Soviet people. It is a source of strong inspiration to the laboring people of all countries who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."(2)

On the occasion of Soviet Constitution Day, our wish for the fraternal people of the Soviet Union, a people who possess a revolutionary tradition and creative talents, is that they reach new pinnacles in their quest to build communism, the brilliant future of mankind.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Constitution (basic law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1957, publishers note (p 5).
2. NHAN DAN Newspaper, No 8555, 12 October 1977.

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THE STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF THE GDR ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 84 pp 64-67

[Article by Yen Van]

[Text] After the German fascists were defeated and unconditionally surrendered, the post-war makeup of the German state was determined through agreements reached by the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. However, these agreements were continuously and grossly violated by the United States and Great Britain. In September, 1949, the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, under a policy of dividing Germany, declared the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany.

On 7 October 1949, in the face of this situation, the 9th Session of the German People's Council, an organization elected by the 2nd German People's Congress at the initiative and under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, declared the establishment of the German Democratic Republic.

The founding of the GDR was an event of important historic significance. It marked the pinnacle of victory in the centuries-long struggle by German progressive forces, which had long dreamed of a new, just and humane German state. It blocked the German revanchists and militarists from restoring their position in East Germany and helped to thwart the plans of aggression of the reactionary powers in Germany and the world.

During the past 35 years, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and through close ties and full-scale cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the GDR has constantly grown in strength. Neither large in size (108,178 square kilometers) or population (17 million), the GDR today is a well developed socialist country that has a modern industry and agriculture and advanced science and technology, a country in which the material and cultural lives of the people have been continuously improved.

In the process of building and developing its economy, the GDR has had to overcome extremely large difficulties. When the war concluded, 70 percent of

industrial enterprises had been totally destroyed. Famine and epidemics poses serious threats. Then, the division of the country by the Western powers posed more than a few obstacles to economic development (the loss of the main industrial center, the Ruhr Complex; the shattering of the historical economic relations between East and West Germany; the fact that virtually every factory in East Germany was cut off from its sources of raw materials in West Germany, etc.). In addition, the imperialists and international reactionaries left nothing untried in their attempt to sabotage the economy of the GDR. They maintained an economic embargo for decades and made extensive efforts to buy the allegiance of and win over the skilled workers, specialists and scientists of the GDR in a vain attempt to cause them to leave the country.

The leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has been the decisive factor in the increasingly large victories that have been won by the GDR. The 3rd Congress of the Party, which was held in July, 1950, decided the tasks of the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism and adopted the first 5-year plan to develop the national economy (1951-1955). By the early 1960's, the GDR had virtually completed the main tasks involved in this transition and built the material-technical bases of socialism. The 6th Congress of the Party, which met in February, 1963, decided to build socialism on a large scale. In keeping with the resolution of the congress, the guidance and planning of the national economy were improved with a view toward insuring the thorough application of the economic laws of socialism. Federations of enterprises came into being during the final half of the 1960's. The agricultural production cooperatives were tied together in joint cooperative businesses. These ties have created favorable conditions for increasing the intensive development and specialization of agriculture and making more rational use of modern technology in crop and livestock production.

The economy of the GDR developed in a stable and continuous manner during the early 1970's. Plan targets were met and some were even exceeded. On the basis of this situation, the 9th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany met in May, 1976, and decided to continue to build developed socialism in the GDR and, in this way, lay the groundwork for the transition to communism.

In the 1980's, the objective of the economic tasks of the GDR is to take a new stride forward in combining the superior nature of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. The 10th Congress of the Party, which was held in April, 1981, emphasized the need for "an economic strategy designed to significantly and more widely raise labor productivity, make better use of raw materials and fuel, improve product quality, develop production in depth and concentrate all means at our disposal on achieving socialist rationalization."

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers stepped up scientific and technical research and the application of scientific and technological advances in production to be the decisive factors in developing production in depth.

In the GDR, scientific research is oriented toward supporting economic tasks and is closely tied to the gradual advance of the economy. At present, the

focus of science and technology is to modernize existing production installations by means of the micro-electronic industry and robotic technology. Investments in scientific and technological activities have constantly increased. Between 1976 and 1980, 32.5 billion marks were invested, twice as much as during the years from 1966 to 1970 and nearly 50 percent more than during the years from 1971 to 1975. The training of scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers has been accelerated. Between 1955 and 1982, the number of skilled workers increased 2.5 times and the number of cadres with an academy education in science or technology increased four times. During the years from 1976 to 1980, about 28,000 innovations and inventions were made and developed within the GDR, some 4,000 of which were awarded certificates.

The process of intensive development has been very closely tied to economizing on raw materials and supplies in production. The GDR considers economizing on raw materials and supplies to be one of the main guidelines in the advancement of science and technology. The party has taught each worker the consciousness of endeavoring to achieve increasingly high economic returns while using less raw materials, fuel, supplies, energy and time. Strict economization measures were enacted in production and have yielded concrete results. In 1980, the consumption of raw materials declined by 5 percent compared to 1979 and industrial production continued to increase even though fuel consumption levels were also reduced. The collection of scrap materials for recycling in production has been promoted. At present, 10 percent of the raw materials used in industry are recycled materials. A movement to collect discarded materials, such as scrap paper, broken bottles, scrap iron, old clothing and so forth, is being supported by large numbers of people.

As a result of adopting the correct economic strategy and through 35 years of steadfast efforts, the GDR has recorded tremendous achievements in production.

Industry is continually being modernized. Each year, many factories equipped with new technology are put into operation. Many modern production sectors, such as the electronic and micro-electronic sectors, have been developed. Nuclear energy is accounting for an increasingly large portion of the power industry. Each year, industry produces 60 percent of national income and is the main source of exports. By 1982, industrial production had increased 10-fold compared to 1950 and doubled compared to 1970. Since 1970, the rate of industrial growth in the GDR has been higher than in the developed industrial countries of Western Europe. The GDR is now one of the 10 leading countries of the world in industrial output per capita.

Agriculture has also recorded large achievements. Although there is only one-third hectare of farmland per capita, the yields and output of crops and livestock have rapidly risen as a result of the increasingly positive impact of industry upon agriculture. By 1983, cereal grain output had increased two times, livestock herds seven times, milk output three times and egg output six times compared to 1949. In 1982 and 1983, the GDR produced more than 10 million tons of cereal grains each year. Agriculture meets society's needs

for meat, milk, butter, cheese, eggs, bread, potatoes and sugar. Meat production is a source of exports. In 1982, each person in the GDR consumed 91 kilograms of meat and meat products, 300 eggs, 16 kilograms of butter, 100 liters of milk and 44 kilograms of sugar and sugar products.

Together with the positive impact of industry upon agriculture, the number of agricultural laborers has markedly declined each year, thus providing labor to supplement the industrial sectors. In 1949, there were 2 million agricultural laborers; in 1965, there were 1.1 million; today, there are 800,000.

The development of the economy has markedly improved the standard of living of the working people. The average monthly income of manual workers and civil servants has risen from 311 marks in 1950 to 555 marks in 1960, 755 marks in 1970 and 1,066 marks in 1982. By 1982, the number of therapy facilities had increased three times, the number of hospitals and public health stations two times, the number of child care centers 50 times and the number of kindergartens five times compared to 1950. One of the social welfare issues that the party and state of the GDR have concerned themselves with resolving first has been the housing problem. Between the time that the GDR was founded and 1970, 1.35 million apartments were built. Between 1971 and 1980, 1.4 million apartments were built or modernized, thereby improving the housing of one-fourth the population.

Born 35 years ago, the GDR is the youngest nation in Europe. However, the achievements in every area that this country has recorded have helped to confirm with increasing eloquence the superiority of socialism. As Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR Council of State, observed: "...In Germany, only socialism can bring happiness, freedom and dignity to man."

As we celebrate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, we are firmly confident that, with the energy and creativity they possess and on the basis of the achievements that have been recorded, the people of the GDR, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, will surely march steadily forward, overcome every obstacle and difficulty and win many new and larger victories in the course of building developed socialism.

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A BELLICOSE POLITICAL PLATFORM

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[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] Aggressive and bellicose are the striking characteristics of the political platform of the U.S. Republican Party that was adopted by the party's national convention on 21 August 1984. Everything from the atmosphere surrounding the national convention of the U.S. Republican Party to the contents of the platform that was adopted in a rush by the convention reeked of the most intense national chauvinism, of radical militarism and raised visions of nuclear mushroom clouds. Although he kept up the farce of inserting a few perfunctory phrases about "peace" as window dressing, Reagan arrogantly displayed his true nature as "super hawk."

Beginning with the very first lines of the section on foreign policy, the political platform of the U.S. Republican Party stressed "that there are profound moral differences between the actions and ideals of the systems based on Marxism-Leninism and the systems based on U.S. democracy." The underlying point being made here is that the "anti-communist crusade" directed against the Soviet Union and the socialist community is the backbone of U.S. national policy under the current Reagan administration and will continue as such if Reagan is re-elected. Under this black banner, Reagan will whip up the winds of the "cold war" even more, push the United States to the brink of nuclear war through new steps in the arms race, make every effort to prepare for a "hot war" and embark on new military adventures, new acts of intervention and aggression. The objective, as boastfully stated in the platform, is to "keep our country (the United States) stronger than any potential adversary."

U.S. military might, the U.S. war machine, "the world's strongest," has been considered the base upon which the seat of the "international gendarme" rests. It has been this objective that has absorbed the U.S. imperialists for nearly 40 years, ever since the end of the World War II.

The political platform of the U.S. Republican Party emphasizes that "we (the United States) endorse the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, considering it

to be the strongest foundation of U.S. policy throughout the hemisphere." Bluntly put, the Americas are viewed as the "private hunting reserve" of the U.S. imperialists.

Also according to the platform, the United States has "vital interests" everywhere in the world, from the Americas, Europe and the Mid East to Asia, the Pacific and Africa.

The Platform audaciously states that "we (the United States) envision a genuine democracy in the future of Cuba," which is to say that the United States is eager to conduct subversive activities and a war of aggression against Cuba.

In a tone of insolent superiority, the tone of the "international gendarme," the platform demands that "Nicaragua not be permitted to become a holy land of communism."

As regards the Asia-Pacific region, the platform states: "We (the United States) are encouraged by Japan's increased defense spending and appeal to Japan to further broaden its contribution to regional defense." The foundation of this "regional defense" that the United States intends to build is the Northeast Asian alliance: the United States-Japan-South Korea with "parallel actions" by China, the thrust of which is directed toward the Soviet Union's Far East.

Praising the action taken by Reagan to "develop U.S.-Sino relations," the platform emphasizes: "Both countries--the United States and China--share an important objective: countering the Soviet Union." Here, the platform does not forget to mention the United States' "concern for and loyalty to" Taiwan and "heartily endorses President Reagan's statement that the policy of the United States is to support and fully execute the articles of the law on our relations with Taiwan."

As regards Southeast Asia, the platform emphasizes the intention of the United States to keep the Clark and Subic Bases in the Philippines and strengthen the "special relations" with, that is, U.S. control over, Thailand and makes false accusations against Vietnam concerning the so called "Kampuchean issue" and "missing Americans." The platform of the Republican Party does not neglect to encourage the ASEAN countries to counter Vietnam and the Soviet Union and promises to "strengthen political and economic ties" with the ASEAN countries, that is, to expand the colonialist activities of the United States within this region.

The platform's most hostile words are reserved for the part on relations with the Soviet Union. It demands that the United State pursue a "policy of peace through strength" toward the Soviet Union, with the word "peace" underlined in an artificial manner. According to the platform, the urgent need in relations with the Soviet Union at this time is not to negotiate limits on strategic weapons, but for the United States to "continue making multilateral efforts to prevent the Soviet military from obtaining advanced technology of the West." The portion of the platform on the foreign policy of the United States toward

the Soviet Union concludes with extremely vile distortions designed to sow divisions among the Soviet people, to divide the Soviet Union from the other countries within the socialist community.

The measure selected by the U.S. Republican Party to implement a "foreign policy based on strength" is to intensify the arms race with a view toward strengthening the war machine of the United States in all fields, beginning with strategic nuclear weapons, in order to "gain strategic military superiority" over the Soviet Union and its allies.

The platform of the Republican Party promises to "do everything necessary to insure that the United States is victorious in case of conflict."

Included among "everything necessary" is a demand to "strengthen U.S. intelligence agencies" and the proposal of the extremely dangerous policy of using intelligence activities to "influence international events with a view toward supporting the objectives of U.S. foreign policy," that is, using U.S. intelligence agencies to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries in every way possible.

Another "need" of the United States that is stressed by the platform is for Reagan to take the "strategic initiative" in building "the weapons system in space," the objective of which, as observed by the Western press, is to "wage nuclear war from the stars."

Thus, according to the new platform of the Republican Party, every activity of the United States today must revolve around preparing for both conventional and nuclear war. The pressing, immediate objective that Reagan has set for the United States is to disrupt the strategic-military balance that has formed between the United States and the Soviet Union and win strategic-military superiority for the United States. Advocating a policy of "direct confrontation" with the three revolutionary currents of our times in the world, the thrust of which is directed toward the Soviet Union and the socialist community, Reagan has been intensifying the arms race by hurriedly manufacturing new strategic nuclear weapons systems and building new platforms from which to launch nuclear strikes from beneath the sea, from space and from land in regions bordering the Soviet Union.

The dark clouds of militarism are gathering in the skies over the United States as well as a number of allies, lackeys and "friends" of the United States. The bellicose platform of the U.S. Republican Party has made one entirely simple but extremely dangerous reality apparent: the U.S. imperialists pose the threat of nuclear war to all mankind.

However, this anti-mankind platform is the product of the desperation of the U.S. imperialists, who are mired in the all-embracing crisis of the "post-Vietnam" era.

Immediately after the platform was adopted, U.S. political circles pointed out that with "this platform, which marks a strong turn to the right," Reagan's Republican Party faces countless difficulties and contradictions at home and abroad. Reagan's economic policies of the past several years, although they

have produced some small gains, are now stalling and seriously threatening the interests of American citizens, primarily workers. Although the Republican Party reached a temporary majority in order to adopt this bellicose platform, a new and increasingly sharp split is becoming evident within the party. The opponents of the Republican Party are mounting their strongest campaign ever to refute the party's platform. The allies of the United States, who have long yielded to all sorts of U.S. pressure over the arms race issue, will surely not tolerate the chauvinist and selfish demands contained within the Republican Party platform.

The bellicose platform of the U.S. Republican Party goes entirely against the trend of our times. The strength of peace, national independence and socialism, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union and the socialist community, is constantly growing. All progressive mankind is becoming more vigilant, ready to block every new reckless action by the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices.

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